

**Longstanding Laos-DPRK ties and Laotian revisionism:
A detailed history and analysis**

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As reported by Rodong Sinmun [in Sept 2016](#): "A high-ranking youth delegation of Laos headed by Sonethanou Thammavong, secretary of the C.C., the Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union, visited Mangyongdae, the birthplace of President Kim Il Sung."

After reviewing the historical connections of Syria and Juche Korea, it is worth analyzing the connection of [Laos](#) and Juche Korea, the former which some bourgeois analysts say is one of the last "Communist governments" in the

world, even with anger at Laos currently by the Heritage Foundation, of all places. Apart from that, there seems to

be a consensus of criticism of Laos on /r/communism. Some call it "[capitalist](#)" (or "isolationist") with others calling it "[worse than Vietnam](#)," in "[very bad shape](#)," a [colony](#) of Vietnam, "[revisionist](#)" but not capitalist (similarly stated [here](#)), is [developing](#) "productive forces in order to build socialism" like Vietnam. Others admit that they don't "[much about Laos](#)," that they [don't](#) "know enough about Laos" or, worst of all,, [assume](#) from what is happening in Vietnam to extrapolate to Laos. With this, it is worth looking at the history of Laos and how Juche Korea fits into the picture.

Over four thousand years ago, the middle Mekong Valley in Laos was first settled. It was followed by the establishment of "Zhenla" in 600 CE, and much of Laos absorbed into the "Khmer Empire" by the 12th century, by which time Theravada Buddhism has been spread by Mon monks.¹

However, it was not until 1353, with the reign of the king of Lan Xang, named Fa Ngum, that

1 This paragraph derives from: Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018 and *DK World History Atlas: Mapping the Human Journey, Fully Revised and Updated*, ed. Jeremy Black (London: Doring Kindersley, 2005, 2nd edition), p 268 for the sentence beginning "By 1800", *The 21st Century Atlas* (Naples FL, Trident Press International, 2000), p 517 for the paragraph's last sentence, and Footprint Travel Guides, "The French and independence," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018 for the sentence beginning "In 1887" and the section in the paragraph from "using gunboat diplomacy" to the words "to Laos." This paragraph also derives from: "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; *DK World History Atlas: Mapping the Human Journey, Fully Revised and Updated*, ed. Jeremy Black (London: Doring Kindersley, 2005, 2nd edition), pp 269, 273; Footprint Travel Guides, "The French and independence," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

"recorded Laotian history" began. By 1800, Laos was, like Burma, Siam (mostly present-day Cambodia), and Annam (much of present-day Vietnam) a tributary state to the Qing Dynasty in China, which is important when considering its history later on. Until 1887 varied Kings ruled over Laos, with Laos becoming a vassal state of Burma during the 1570s, and involvement in varied regional conflicts. In 1887, following an expedition by Frenchmen in 1867, France installed Auguste Pavie in Louangphrabang as the "first vice consul" (with reluctant Siamese permission) as they sought to, unlike the Siamese, establish explicit "areas of sovereignty," three years after France [strengthened their rule](#) in the region. In 1890, French colonial rule began, and would last until 1953. Laos went from under a French military occupation in 1893, using gunboat diplomacy to force the Siamese King, King Chulalongkorn, to give all his claims to Laos, becoming part of French Indochina (also including present-day Cambodia and Vietnam), to a French protectorate in 1895, "divided into Upper Laos and Lower Lao" but was integrated under [one administrator in 1899](#). In 1904 and [1907](#), France concluded varied treaties [with Siam](#), acquiring the "borders of contemporary Laos," with only a few hundred French civil servants "ever in Vientiane at any one time" with a relaxed attitude of colonial administration. At the time, as is still the case, Laos was very mountainous, with high rugged mountain ranges in North, and the Mekong River plain in South, the latter having more terrain, with the border between Laos and Cambodia at the Tonle Repou River fixed by the French governor general in [March 1905](#).

Fast forward to the 1920s. In 1920, the would-be "[great revolutionary leader](#)" of Laos, Kaysone Phomvihane, was born in Savannakhet. The following year, the Communist Party of China (CPC) would be founded, and five years later, in 1926, the Bolsheviks would support the Chinese Nationalists.² Unfortunately this was a fatal mistake because the Communists were purged from that

² *DK World History Atlas: Mapping the Human Journey*, Fully Revised and Updated, ed. Jeremy Black (London: Doring Kindersley, 2005, 2nd edition), p 271; Library of Congress, "[Laos: Events in 1945](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

organization in 1927 and 1928. A few years later, in 1930, the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) would be founded by Ho Chi Minh, with their agents in "Vientiane and other towns had already begun spreading anti-French propaganda" as they made efforts to resist the French, following a strategy of "national liberation followed by the transition to socialism" with cells established in Laos in the 1930s consisting of Vietnamese comrades but undoubtedly including Laotian comrades.



Map of Laos present-day, courtesy of ontheworldmap.com.

By the 1940s, the revolutionary struggle was heightening. Kaysone was becoming an "[active revolutionary](#)" while he was studying in "Hà Nội during the 1940s" at the same time that a small "French-educated Lao élite" grew up, later becoming the "core of a typically laid-back Lao nationalist movement."³ In Sept 1941, the Japanese imperialists would [invade Indochina](#), including Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, but left "French administrative structure[s] intact" leading to more agitation, with in Laos, specifically, a group called Lai Issara formed in order to "prevent the return of the French." To be more specific, however, these Japanese forces invaded Vietnam and used Thailand, which was then allied with the Axis, as a base while, due to an agreement between the Vichy French and Laotian monarchy, a kingdom was formed, with Prince Phetsarath RattanaVong as "vice-king" and [prime minister from 1942 to 1945](#). During this time, thousands upon thousands of Vietnamese occupied "key positions in the federal civil service, public works, posts and telegraph, treasury, customs, and police" probably creating some resentment among the population. In 1945, the situation would change drastically, for the worse.

In April 1945, after being delayed by Franco-Laotian guerrillas, including the Hmong interestingly enough, Japanese troops quickly moved into Laotian towns, imprisoning "French officials and their families and confiscated their property" while the puppet Prince, Phetsarath, "left Vientiane for Louangphrabang to be with the king."⁴ In response, Khana Lao Issara (Committee for Independent Laos) established "a nationalist government," declaring "an independent Laos," the same year that, in September, "Ho Chi Minh declares Vietnam an independent nation." At the same time, the Japanese

3 Footprint Travel Guides, "The French and independence, Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Laos: Events in 1945](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; "Laos Brief History: Laos Information," Asia Web Direct, accessed Feb 3, 2018.

4 Footprint Travel Guides, "The French and independence," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Laos: Events in 1945](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

[forced](#) the hand of King Sisavangvong," to declare an independent state." However, when the Japanese surrendered in August, this King would move to "re-establish the French protectorate" in Laos! Still, the events of the war "[forever shattered](#) the image of French supremacy," giving an impetus to liberation struggle in Laos. A year later, in 1946, the cell which would later become the Laotian Communist Party would be formed, with the ICP officially breaking apart into differing parties in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.⁵ The same year, the French would begin re-occupying Laos and crush the Lao resistance, with rebel government taking "refuge in Bangkok," which was aided by their comrades in Vietnam, while a royal family would take power in Laos, with delegates to their bourgeois "Constituent Assembly" chosen at the end of that year.

In the following years much would change in Laos. In 1947, a constitution which made Laos a "constitutional monarchy" was implemented, headed by Prince Souvannarath, a government "independent" but within the French Union, showing that it basically was still a colony.⁶ That same year, more Viet Minh comrades would begin coming into Laos. By early 1947, there were 500-700 of their comrades in the country, which would raise to about 5,000-7,000 by later 1950, and 17,000 by 1953, showing they were vital in the liberation struggle in Laos but were not directing such a struggle, only assisting. In February 1948, a secret protocol was signed which allowed Boun Oum "to keep his title of Prince of Champasak" and was made, in return, "inspector general of the kingdom," the third-highest ranking individual in the Laos Kingdom!

The next year, 1949, Kaysone Phomvihan [formed](#) the armed forces of Pathet Lao (Land of Laos). They were called Latsavong, named after the "latsavong of Vientiane" who had resisted the

5 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 39; Footprint Travel Guides, "The French and independence," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Laos: A Confusing Situation](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[The Kingdom of Laos](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

6 Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[The Kingdom of Laos](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

Siamese in the nineteenth century, and were later renamed as the Lao People's Liberation Army (LPLA).⁷ The same year, the Franco-Lao General Convention granted Laos "limited self-government" within a newly reconstructed French Union by July, meaning it is effectively still a French colony, with the Communists trying to take power in such an arrangement to benefit the Laotian people but being sadly unsuccessful, with a French puppet, Boun Oum, having power instead. By August, the Laotian resistance fighters had joined the Viet Minh, declaring a Democratic Republic of Laos, the precursor the existing Laotian nation today. Later on in the year, in October, a government disliking the "anti-French resistance in Laos" took power in Thailand, with a number of the resistance fighters taking refuge in Vietnam.



Pathet Lao soldiers, date not known.

their comrades in the Viet Minh, with Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos becoming "independent states"

1950 and 1951 were important years in the Laotian liberation struggle. Not only was a new resistance government formed, including Kaystone and Souphanouvong , but support for communism was mobilized effectively by these brave Laotians and

⁷ Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 39; Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "The French and independence," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[The Kingdom of Laos](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

within the French Union, meaning that they were still French colonies.⁸ The U\$ and British imperialists showed what side they were on: they recognized Laos "as an Associated State within the French Union" with the U\$ opening, later that year, a legation in Vientiane, which it would use in years to come to try and twist the country to their liking. By the following year, 1951, enough troops of the Pathet Lao had been "recruited and trained" that they could effectively fight, helped by their Viet Minh comrades, against "French Union forces in Laos," and the Vietnam Workers' Party was created, along with a "Committee of action for Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos" in order to frustrate the "divide and rule" strategy of French and U\$ imperialists as [Ho Chi Minh put it](#). Around the same time, in February, the ICP, which had been underground for years, was dissolved, with separate parties established in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, with all of these parties working together to "mobilize mass support for the anti-French war throughout Indochina." Back in Laos, in August, the National Progressive Party won [almost half](#) of the Lao National Assembly seats, but despite its name, there is no evidence this party assisted in the liberation struggle. More important was the resistance government of Pathet Lao and the signing of the Franco-Lao Treaty of Amity and Association which transferred most of the French powers, except "control of military affairs" to the Royal Lao Government (RLG) which made Laos an "independent" state within the French Union, but was, as it was understood, basically a French colony, with neocolonialism fully at work. From 1951 to 1954, the U\$ would back the RLG, running anti-communist campaigns, backing the RLG army, comprising seventeen companies by the end of 1952, and lending support to right-wing figures, with the Pathet Lao the only "strong opposition" to this horrid government.⁹

8 Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[The Kingdom of Laos](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

9 Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[The Kingdom of Laos](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

In 1953, the methods of domination over the Laotian people were foiled. Bourgeois scholars say the Pathet Lao, assisted by the Viet Minh, "invaded" Laos, but it is more accurate to say they liberated much of the country, with French colonialists striking back at these forces to maintain their colony.¹⁰ With that, the French control as a protectorate over Laos ended, in October 1953, as they granted "the country full independence" (except in the area of military affairs) but failed to solve who would run the country afterwards, leading the US [to take the role](#) of the French colonialists for their own imperialistic benefit. The connection between the Laotian government and the US imperialists was evident as the former [declared](#) that "[Viet Minh aggression](#)" should be an issue before the UN. There was another aim at liberation at the end of the year and into 1954, "creating considerable difficulties for the French Union defenders."¹¹



Flags of Laos and Juche Korea fly next to each other in [September 2011](#).

- 10 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 40; "Laos country profile," *BBC News*, Jan 9, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "The French and independence," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," *globalsecurity.org*, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," *worldatlas.com*, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.
- 11 Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

The situation would change in 1954. An agreement was signed in Geneva that year, with all Viet Minh troops and all, "but 5,000", troops of France, withdrawing, while the Free Lao Front, in 1954, changed its name to Laotian Patriotic Front (LPF) the same year.¹² Most importantly, members of the Pathet Lao visited Juche Korea, likely Pyongyang. This is the first known contact, I could find, between the resistance fighters of Laos and the Koreans.

When you search for the connection between the two countries at the present, most mention restaurants of the Juche Korea [in Laos](#), such as the Pyongyang Restaurant in the capital, Vientiane. Those who hate Juche Korea try to paint the restaurant as some controlled environment, through their Orientalist lens, while it is simple an expression of national pride and their comradely solidarity.¹³ Menus are thick, photos of each dish, most of which are Korean-style, and some of which are Chinese-style, with "a glass display case" featuring pamphlets of Kim Il Sung speeches, books, and "free maps of Vientiane," but no "[overt propaganda](#)" as noted by a bourgeois "watcher" of Juche Korea with the waitresses having a good time, singing from [time to time](#). But, the connection between the two countries is broader than this. For one, Juche Korea has an [embassy in Laos](#). Secondly, they supported them during the liberation struggle.

Such support has been asserted varied times in the media of Juche Korea. In [February 2016](#), Bounnhang Vorachith at the building of the LPRP (Lao People's Revolutionary Party) Central Committee in Vientiane thanked "the party [WPK], government and people of the DPRK for giving its support to Laos during its war of independence" and pledged that the LPRP would "intensify the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries." Later that year, in June, Choe Thae Bok, [headed a WPK delegation to Laos](#), saying that they are "always remembering the sincere support and

12 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 40; Joseph Jeremiah Zasloff, *The Pathet Lao: leadership and organization*, Vol. 14 (US: Lexington Books, 1973), p 113.

13 Elise Hu, "Would You Like A Side Of Propaganda? Lunch At A North Korean Restaurant," KQED Food (reprinted from NPR Food), Sept 7, 2016, for photos see [here](#).

encouragement sent by the WPK and the DPRK government and people to the Lao party, government and people in the past" and called for stronger relations. The same month, this delegation was, interestingly enough, "[briefed on the career of Kaysone Phomvihane](#)," who was described as the leader of "the national salvation struggle of the Lao people and the struggle for building fresh Laos." In a connected note, the Lao Revolutionary Museum was said to be built by the Juche Koreans, as claimed in in a horrid and Orientalist fiction book on Korea, which in this regard and no other, have some validity.¹⁴

Sadly, nothing is known about of the support Juche Korea provided for the Laotian liberation struggle. The [trade registers](#) of the [SIPRI Arms Transfers Database](#) mention nothing about Laos. Searching the trade register there is only one country listed: the Soviets, who have a number of second-hand aircraft and vehicles to Pathet Lao in the early 1960s (1960-1962) with nothing else listed:

Source: [SIPRI Arms Transfers Database](#)

Information generated: 06 March 2018

10	Supplier/ recipient (R)	ordered	No. designation	Weapon description	Year(s) Weapon of order	Year delivery	of delivered	No. Comments
15	Soviet Union R: Pathet Lao (Laos)*	6	Il-12	Transport aircraft	(1959)	1960-1962	(6)	Second-hand
		10	Po-2	Trainer aircraft	(1959)	1960-1962	(10)	Second-hand
		(30)	PT-76	Light tank	(1959)	1960-1962	(30)	
		(10)	BTR-40	APC	(1961)	1962	(10)	Second-hand Army
20		3	Li-2T/Cab	Transport aircraft	1962	1962	3	Second-hand; aid

Apart from that, using the [trade register once again](#), I found that France (from 1954-1962) and the US (1954-1972) were major suppliers to the RLG, with minor suppliers being the Australians (in 1970) and the puppet "South" Vietnamese (in 1970), with China and the Soviet Union giving arms/supplies to Laotian resistance during the period before independence (more from the Soviets than Chinese). After independence and the victory of the Laotian revolution in 1975, the Soviet Union was a major arms supplier, followed by the Chinese, Russians, Ukrainians, French, and Canadians in more

14 Mark D. Treston, *North Korean Memoirs* (US: iUniverse, 2004), pp 79, 81, 82-83, 84.

recent years. Furthermore, when the trade register is used once again it seems clear that no arms were given to the Laotians by Juche Korea but were [given to 17 countries or entities](#) if the data is to be completely accurate, which is partially questionable as some of the recent "arms transfers" undoubtedly depend on reports in bourgeois media.

With this, we get back to the history of Laos. In 1954, the French moved 16,000 troops into Dien Bien Phu in an effort to "[control](#) the traditional invasion route from Vietnam into Laos" but this was unsuccessful with Vietnamese victory over the besieged French on May 7th. It was that year, the same year that the US created a puppet state in Vietnam's south in violation of the Geneva conference, that Laos finally had complete freedom from France, but a constitutional monarchy was founded in this neutral country, with King Sisavang Vong rounding up "support for Laos in the West."¹⁵ However, this "peace" didn't last long. The Hmong, like the Khmu, who had engaged in armed rebellions during many years of French colonial control over Laos, would side with imperialists, and be their footsoldiers, just like certain Kurds in the Mideast today, while civil war would break out between the royalists and Pathet Lao, with the agreement formed in Geneva quickly forgotten, particularly by the imperialists, whom had forgotten about the Chinese concern during the negotiations for Laos to be free of US military bases and have a coalition government. As such, the murderous empire was supplying and paying "salaries of 50,000 royalist troops and their corrupt officers" with, in years to come, the mobilization of "undercover special forces" and meddling in the politics of Laos by the CIA! As the

15 James F. Dunnigan and Albert A. Nofi, *Dirty Little Secrets of the Vietnam War: Military Information You're Not Supposed to Know*, (US: MacMillan, 2014), p 71; Jarred James Breaux, "[The Intransigence of General Phoumi. Nosavan and American Intervention in the Fall of 1960](#)," Accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Toward Neutrality: The First Coalition](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

year came to a close, there was a secret meeting to form a new party in Laos, a Communist Party, in order to ensure success of their liberation struggle, assisted by their Vietnamese comrades.¹⁶

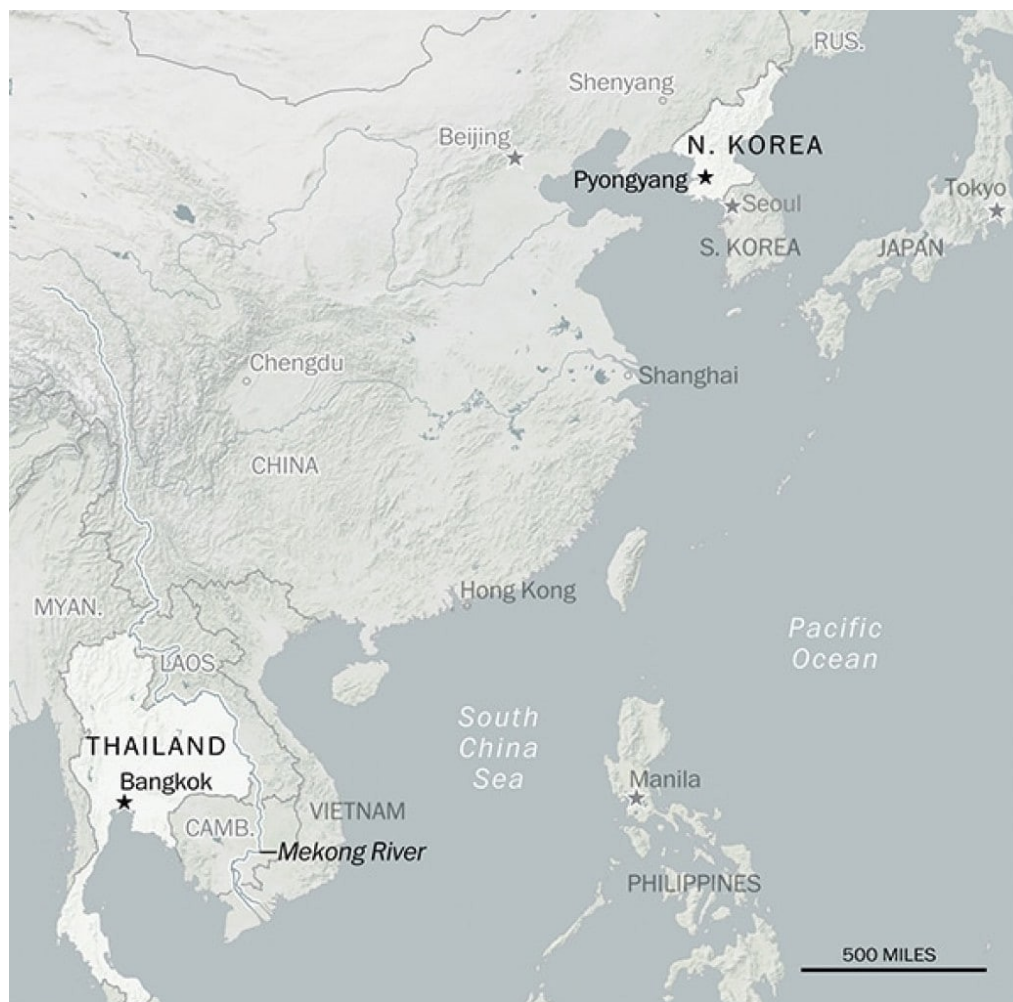
1955 was a watershed moment for the Laotian liberation struggle. This was not because the murderous empire attempted to "buy Laos" and make it a puppet state with U\$ aid flowing like a faucet on full blast, or that the U\$ established "full diplomatic relations" with this puppet state the same year.¹⁷ Instead, it would be the [founding](#) of the Lao People's Party (LPP), which was also called Phak Pasason Lao, later renamed the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), on March 22nd in the northern Laotian town of [Samnuea](#), an effort which Kaysone Phomvihane played a key part in. 62 years later, Kim Jong Un [would congratulate](#) the Laotians on the "62nd anniversary of the foundation of the LPRP" and wishing it better days ahead. Later that year, 1955, elections would be boycotted by Pathet Lao, in July, the fragility of the Laotian political system was clear after the assassination of the royalist defense minister, in September, and the Programs Evaluation Office of the U\$ [opened](#), in December, to give covert assistance to the royalist government. By the end of the year, the country had elections but still remained a puppet state of the U\$ imperialists, with the elections within bourgeois strictures, but was still admitted to the UN regardless. For the next three years, the U\$ would pump \$120 million into Laos, "four times what France had provided over the previous eight years" meaning that the royalist government was "almost entirely dependent...on American largesse to survive" meaning that when that

16 Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

17 Jarred James Breaux, "[The Intransigence of General Phoumi, Nosavan and American Intervention in the Fall of 1960](#)," Accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Initial Difficulties](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "The Secret War," plainofjars.net, Mar 3, 2018; U\$ State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Laos: The Pathet Lao](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 40. That [same year](#), in March, there were [left-wing delegations](#) from 14 countries at New Delhi conference, and at Badung Conference, there were 24 countries attending, two of which were Communist, 6 Neutralist, 9 anti-communist, and 12 pro-Western.

aid was withheld in August 1958 after Pathet Lao ministers were included in the government "Laos was plunged into a financial and political crisis" and the coalition government quickly collapsed!¹⁸

The Laotian liberation struggle was strengthened in 1956. In January, the congress of Pathet Lao established the Lao Patriotic Front (LPF), allowing the LPP to operate more secretly to benefit the struggle going forward, continuing what would become the 30-year struggle (1945-1975), with no split



during the whole
struggle of the
liberation movement
unlike their
opponents!¹⁹ While
some royalists tried to
coax the Communist to
join a coalition
government in March,
[leading to a cease-fire](#)
by August and plans for
political integration of
Pathet Lao, with
amending of the
constitution to allow
such a coalition

The above map which shows Laos, Juche Korea, and the surrounding region, comes from the Washington Post, in another one of their anti-DPRK articles, focusing on the DPRK and Thailand.

18 Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

19 Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018.; "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018; Jarred James Breaux, "[The Intransigence of General Phoumi, Nosavan and American Intervention in the Fall of 1960](#)," accessed Mar 2, 2018.

government, this would not last. The following year, 1957, the Pathet Lao refused to be part of this new neutralist government, with their participation also refused by reactionary forces and by their US patrons. Soon, a civil war again broke out in the country, with Laotian resistance fighters fighting against the royalists with all their might, while the US [wanted intelligence reports](#) on Laos, [among many other countries](#).

Like many Cold War conflicts, this soon turned into a proxy war by 1958.²⁰ The Soviets backed Pathet Lao and the US backed the royalists, although the real fight was over the liberation of Laos or whether Laos would stay a puppet state. While some parts of Pathet Lao were willing to participate in the legislative process, a there was a three-way civil war going on between the neutralists led by Souvanna Phouma, Pathet Lao (the Communists assisted by Vietnamese comrades), and rightists/royalists (backed by the US), with the US working to reduce French presence while they increased their own forces, backing groups such as the Committee for the Defense of the National Interests (CDNI) in Laos. The neutralists left the government [by July](#) and were replaced by the anti-communist royalists the following month, leading to an effort at liberation led by Vietnamese comrades which bourgeois analysts call "aggression" but admit that their claims that villages Laos "had historically been part of Vietnam...was a decidedly modest claim."²¹

By 1959, the situation was getting worse. On December 25, a CIA-backed strongman, General Phoumi Nosavan, of the CDNI, took over [some government buildings](#) in the capital city, imprisoning "Pathet Lao leaders...without trial" which was a coup.²² Before this, the Pathet Lao basically refused to

20 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 40); Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[The 1958 Elections](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[North Vietnamese Invasion](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

21 Library of Congress, "[North Vietnamese Invasion](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

22 Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[North Vietnamese Invasion](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Wilfred Burchett, "[Hard Road to Victory in Laos: The Rise of Nosavan](#)" within the *The Furtive War*; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Jarred James Breaux, "[The Intransigence of General Phoumi. Nosavan and American Intervention in the Fall of 1960](#)," Accessed Mar 2, 2018. For Burchett also see [this article](#) on his memoirs, other [writings](#) on the Marxists Internet Archive and [other](#) materials.

be integrated into the royalist army, with [especially heavy](#) fighting in northern Laos and Vietnamese comrades entering Laos to assist Pathet Lao in July. By September, Lao resistance fighters [were engaging](#) in a "hit and run guerrilla war," spreading propaganda to rise against government (which was glad to be helped by murderous empire). At the [same time](#), the Vietnamese said that U\$ interference in Laos was in preparation for war in Vietnam, China said that U\$ is using UN name as cover for armed intervention in Laos, and Foreign Ministry of Juche Korea said on Sept 7 that "US activities against Laos are reminiscent of situation in 1950 when they provoked the Korean war." This seems to imply that the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Koreans were all supporting/helping the Pathet Lao. The following month, King Sisavang Vong died and was succeeded by Savang Vatthana who ruled to 1975.

The country further became a battleground for a proxy war between the Soviets and U\$ in 1960. With rigged elections by the CIA in April, covert support for the royalist army of the Laos, with some elements of the U\$ government supporting certain individuals, and others supporting Phoumi.²³ At the same time, in May, four Pathet Lao leaders [escaped](#) from prison. In August, in an act that caught the U\$ by surprise, a Laotian paratroop division led by General Kong Le ousted the rightists led by General Phoumi, putting in place a nationalist government which was supported by the Soviets, and had the cooperation of Pathet Lao, with the U\$ refusing to support such a government. This did not last long since, in November, after months of support and planning, the CIA backed another coup by Phoumi pushing Kong Le out of power. This was not surprising as they had [grumbled](#) a few months before that a neutralist government in Laos allowed for "increased Communist presence" which [threatened](#) imperial interests and sent arms to "Nosavan's troops...in an attempt to recapture Vientiane"

23 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 40; Footprint Travel Guides, "The rise of Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," globalsecurity.org, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "The Secret War," plainofjars.net, Mar 3, 2018; Jarred James Breaux, "[The Intransigence of General Phoumi, Nosavan and American Intervention in the Fall of 1960](#)," accessed Mar 2, 2018; Wilfred Burchett, "[Hard Road to Victory in Laos: The Rise of Nosavan](#)" within the *The Furtive War*; Library of Congress, "[The Attempt to Restore Neutrality](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

even though this violated the 1954 Geneva accords. In November, [81 Marxist-Leninist parties in Moscow released a statement](#) saying that a "national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkys, is developing in South Vietnam and Laos" and praised the peoples of "the Congo and Laos" for resisting "the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness."



Memorial of Lao resistance fighters in Laos

A counter-coup at the end of the year, on December 8, by Colonel Kouprasith, against Phoumi, was a failure but those in Congress were criticizing US policies in Laos, with Senator

Mike Mansfield saying there was "little to show for the \$300,000,000 spent during the previous six or seven years in Laos" except for "chaos, discontent, armies on the loose and a large mission of hundreds of U.S. officials in Vientiane" most of whom were CIA employees.²⁴ At the same time, the Soviet airlift to Pathet Lao began at the end of the year, equipping the latter with heavy weapons, allowing them to fight even more effectively, with calls for a new Geneva Conference by the Soviets. At the end of the

²⁴ Wilfred Burchett, "[Hard Road to Victory in Laos: The Rise of Nosavan](#)" within the *The Furtive War*; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[The Widening War](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

year, but before the coup, Juche Korea condemned U\$ support for the royalist government and expanded U\$ involvement, saying that the U\$ was using a Thai Mercenary force to overthrow the neutralist government, showing their assertions were not far off from the reality.²⁵ They added that "at present, the U.S. imperialists are perpetrating an open act of aggression against the people of Laos. Thus, a grave state of war has been created in Laos." This was one of their many statements in solidarity with the Laotian liberation struggle.

The Lao liberation struggle seemed to be even more successful in 1961. That year, Pathet Lao had control of half of Laos, and there was a ceasefire which called for all foreign troops to be withdrawn from Laos, coupled with the creation of a provisional government.²⁶ The ceasefire collapsed with the neutrality of Laos broken, strongly by the imperialists with the CIA setting up a "secret army" of the Hmong led by Vang Pao, then a major in the Royal Lao Army, and U\$ military aid increasing. The Hmong, who were "easily swayed" would call the CIA advisers "Sky Men," the latter whom exploiting the "nationalist fervor driving the Hmong to fight." In January, the U\$ puppet government in Laos invented a myth that "six North Vietnamese battalions" fought them at Plain of Jars to cover up their massive defeat by forces allied with Phouma, admitting later that there was no evidence of "active intervention" in Laos by the Vietnamese. A [few months later](#), in March, Kennedy declared he supported the sovereignty of Laos, of course, he was a hard-nosed anti-communist, and this public statement could be swept away for the necessity of fighting the "commies" in Laos since he was a full-throated believer in the domino theory. This was proven by the fact that not long after his statement "the American aircraft carrier Midway and two destroyers had left for the Gulf of Thailand, and...there were

25 United States Foreign Broadcast Service, "Daily Report: Foreign Radio Broadcasts, Issues 241-245," p 65; Barry Gills, *Korea versus Korea: A Case of Contested Legitimacy* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p 97.

26 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 41; "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; "The Secret War," [plainofjars.net](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Wilfred Burchett, "[Hard Road to Victory in Laos: The Rise of Nosavan](#)" within *The Furtive War*.

reports that several hundred U.S. marines had arrived at Udon Thani airbase, in northern Thailand" which was only about "30 miles from the Laotian frontier"!²⁷ This was accompanied by the establishment of a Military Advisory Group (MAAG) in Laos in April, while the CIA admitted, the [following month](#), that Pathet Lao forces [basically observed](#) the ceasefire, only attacking government's "Meo guerrilla bases," and continued skirmishing. The same month, a CIA-charted Air America plane was downed by Pathet Lao, showing that the U\$ was clearly violating the ceasefire without question. As the year went on, in June, both Kennedy and Khrushchev reaffirmed the "neutrality" of Laos, which didn't help the Laotian liberation struggle. At the end of the year, and into the next year, specifically in February, "Nosavan's forces...launched three major offensives" with operational plans "drawn up by MAAG (U.S. Military Aid and Advisory Group) at Vientiane" but suffered severe defeats regardless.²⁸

1961 was the beginning of varied methods of imperial aggression by the U\$. Those dressed in civilian clothes "flew spotter planes directing U.S. Air Force strikes against the Ho Chi Minh trail" and "civilian" contractors operated a "huge and secret air force radar complex" in Northern Laos, both initiatives which lasted until 1975.²⁹ The same year, the CIA began backing a secret army in Laos to help fight Pathet Lao and "North" Vietnamese with over 50,000 Hmong civilians dying until the CIA stopped backing this army in 1973, with the war kept a secret because it not only violated the neutrality of Laos, but tens of thousands of the Hmong were on the U\$ payroll, and there was a "devastating bombing campaign" as we noted earlier. With all this, Laos was part of the "bloody struggle" in Indochina since the Ho Chi Minh trail went through Laos itself.

27 Wilfred Burchett, "[Hard Road to Victory in Laos: The Rise of Nosavan](#)" within *The Furtive War*; Library of Congress, "[The Battle of Vientiane](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018. In September of 1961, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was formed.

28 Wilfred Burchett, "[Hard Road to Victory in Laos: The Rise of Nosavan](#)" within *The Furtive War*.

29 Compiled by Ralph McGehee, "[Bombing Laos](#)," Oct 1995, with much of the information coming from the top CIA official in Laos, Douglas Blaufarb, and others from CIA Files, Congressional Research Service, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Thomas Fuller, "Communism and Capitalism Are Mixing in Laos," *New York Times*, Sept 15, 2009; *DK World History Atlas: Mapping the Human Journey, Fully Revised and Updated*, ed. Jeremy Black (London: Doring Kindersley, 2005, 2nd edition), p 251.82e

The year to come was the continuation of harsh U\$ aggression against the Laotian people. With the CIA arming and training Thai mercenaries and Meo tribesmen, which were fighting against the Pathet Lao, [varied newspapers](#) said, in later years, that the CIA had a role in Laos starting in 1962 (undoubtedly was at least 1960 as noted in this article), since that year USAID was [used as a cover](#) for CIA operations with the director admitting this was the case.³⁰ That year, it is also worth [noting](#) that there were 8,000-10,000 Vietnamese [comrades in Laos](#) which is why the U\$ claimed the Geneva agreement that year was “a good bad deal” with Laos sinking back into civil war once again. In order to justify U\$ presence, Vietnamese presence was used as an excuse to send military aid to the RLG, create a secret army numbering in the tens of thousands, and dropping rice and ammunition from the CIA-charted airline, Air America, even reportedly sending U\$ marines into Laos itself! The [so-called](#) “neutrality” of Laos was [anti-communist](#) in nature. This was proven by the fact that while in June a provisional government was formed and MAAG personnel were [withdrawn](#) in October, U\$ aggression was heightened. Starting in 1962 there was “destruction towns and villages by bombing” which would last until 1970, and CIA pilots began flying bombing and supply missions supporting their secret army.³¹ Still, the [“victorious struggle in Laos,”](#) as Mao Tse-Tung called it, continued, with Progressive Labor (PL), later becoming the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), among others, feeling like they were [part of a huge revolutionary movement](#), even though the PLP would later fall on its own sword.

30 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 41; Footprint Travel Guides, “The rise of Communism,” Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; “Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos,” [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018; “Lao People’s Democratic Republic History Timeline,” [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018. Those papers are: *Courier Express*, *Pittsburgh Press*, *Washington Post*, *Journal Constitution*, *Toledo Times*, *Detroit News*, *Daily World*, *Dothan Eagle*, *Providence Journal*, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Tallahassee Democrat*, *Plain Dealer*, *Kansas City Star*, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Times*, *Washington Star*, *Ramparts*, *Look*, *New Yorker*, *Guardian*, *Tulsa Tribune*, and *Washington Monthly*, along with any other opinions on the subject.

31 Library of Congress, [“The Battle of Vientiane,”](#) Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Compiled by Ralph McGehee, [“Bombing Laos,”](#) Oct 1995, with much of the information coming from the top CIA official in Laos, Douglas Blaufarb, and others from CIA Files, Congressional Research Service, accessed Mar 2, 2018. In the early days, of the secret year, it was also noted that “t-28 fighter-bombers bearing royal lao Insignia” were flown by CIA pilots on regular bombing missions on pathet lao and Nvese positions along ho chi minh trail.”

1963 was not a good year for the Laotian liberation struggle. A [CIA coup](#) occurred in [Laos](#), the CIA secret army in the jungles of Laos had grown to over 30,000 men, a force originally dispatched by Kennedy himself, showing that, as Wilfred Burchett put it, “the only policy the world sees in action is the CIA policy,” making it silly to “distinguish” between CIA policy and Administration policy since they are one and the same.³² Furthermore, the Laotians obviously weren’t threatening Thailand or even over Laotians but were rather the “object of an international, armed invasion organized by the United States” as Burchett put it in the same chapter. As such, while it may have been a “question” in the minds of some whether the US would be prepared to “permit the Laotian people to shape their own future” there’s no doubt the murderous empire didn’t want such self-determination at all but only a pliant puppet state. In order to keep the communists “[in check](#)” and [watch](#) them, [varied](#) locations, including [Laos](#), Sino-Indian border, South China area, northern part of Vietnam, Juche Korea, and Manchuria/North China with reconnaissance planes, with the latter over the border between Laos and Vietnam throughout the year. Elements of the neutralist troops joined Pathet Lao, leading Kong Le to join puppet general Phoumi Nosavan, and the second coalition government collapsed after a Laotian foreign minister was assassinated on April 1. This shattered any illusions that “formation of the coalition government in Laos would...bring a stable peace” to Laos, with Nosavan backed by “swarms of CIA agents” with an Iran-style coup occurring in Laos, the CIA’s “specialty.”³³ Sadly, in October

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- 32 Footprint Travel Guides, "Secret war," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Wilfred Burchett, "[Hard Road to Victory in Laos: The Rise of Nosavan](#)" within *The Furtive War*; US government report, "[BEGINNING OF AIR OPERATIONS IN LAOS](#)," Project CHECO, Larry's SEA CALL SIGN PROJECT, accessed Mar 2, 2017; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018. Recon missions would continue throughout the year into [March](#) on the [border](#) with Vietnam, with the [same](#) being the case [in April](#). This was [also](#) the case in [May](#), [June](#), [October](#) (also see [here](#) and [here](#)), [November](#), and [December](#).
- 33 Jacob van Staaveren and Stuart Slade's *Air War Vietnam. Plans and Operations 1961 - 1968* (US: Lulu.com, Oct 2012), p 121; Jacob Van Staaveren, "[USAF Plans and Policies in South Vietnam and Laos 1964](#)," compiled in Dec 1965, p 11, 17, 21, 33, 44; US government report, "[BEGINNING OF AIR OPERATIONS IN LAOS](#)," Project CHECO, Larry's SEA CALL SIGN PROJECT, accessed Mar 2, 2017; ["Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 32; Footprint Travel Guides, "Secret war," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; US government report, "[BEGINNING OF AIR OPERATIONS IN LAOS](#)," Project CHECO, Larry's SEA CALL SIGN PROJECT, accessed Mar 2, 2017. report reprinted on pages 117-120 of Jacob van Staaveren and Stuart Slade's *Air War Vietnam. Plans and Operations 1961 - 1968* (US: Lulu.com, Oct 2012). Originally from 112 page report

1963, the Soviets [ended their airlift operation](#) to help the Pathet Lao, showing the limits of the Soviet revisionists in helping liberation struggle while U\$ “advisers” in Vietnam had grown to 9,000 by the years end, a special warfare unit of the U\$ Air Force was sent to Thailand, and Laos became, more and more, linked with “developments in Vietnam.” On August 29th, Mao Tse-Tung [released a statement](#) which opposed aggression against Southern Vietnam and repressive measures by the “Ngo Dinh clique” backed by the U\$, in which he said:

U.S. imperialism has violated the agreements reached at the first Geneva Conference by obstructing the unification of Vietnam, conducting open armed aggression against southern Vietnam and engaging in so-called special warfare over many years. It has also violated the agreements of the second Geneva Conference by its flagrant intervention in Laos in an attempt to rekindle the civil war there. Apart from those who are deliberately deceiving the people or are utterly naive, no one will believe that a treaty can make U.S. imperialism lay down its butcher's knife and suddenly become a Buddha, or even behave itself a little better. The oppressed people and oppressed nations must not entrust their liberation to the “wisdom” of imperialism and its lackeys. Only by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle will they triumph. This is what the people of southern Vietnam have been doing.

The Johnson Administration, in 1964, upped the ante, building from the foundation laid by Kennedy, continuing his harsh anti-communist policies and creating new ones. Not only were plans floated for a secret war in Laos, but it was declared that U\$ will put their forces in Laos [without question](#), if “Reds” get upper hand, and a CIA-friendly Senator, Mr. Broomfield, in August, declared that the U\$ mission is to allow Laos [to survive](#) as a “sovereign, independent, non-Communist state and a buffer between Communist China and North Vietnam and the free nations of Thailand, Cambodia, and the Republic of Vietnam,” with the U\$ [supporting](#) the anti-communist “neutrality” of Laos, with

by Jacob Van Staaveren titled “[USAF Plans and Policies in South Vietnam and Laos 1964](#)” which was compiled in Dec 1965, specifically pages 72-77 are reprinted on the above linked webpage.

military aid to this government [beginning](#) this year. Additionally, [the bombing](#) of the Ho Chi Minh trail and Northern Laos began. As they bombed “supply lines” of the Vietnamese “through Laos to South Vietnam along the Ho Chi Minh Trail in East Laos,” they fueled further conflict in Laos, with the CIA’s secret army training in Thailand and given heavy weapons. Reconnaissance missions still flew over the Laotian border, specifically that with the northern part of Vietnam, in [January](#), [March](#), [April](#), May, coupled with a plan to train Lao and Thai pilots in the bombing of Indochina, and worries that Pathet Lao attacks on neutralists and rightists jeopardized “neutrality” of Laos. This was the feeling despite the fact that the Joint Chiefs had already considered cross-border operations of ground troops into Laos and said that Laotian routes should be bombed without question, with joined U\$-Laotian air operations over Laos by September and U\$ bombing of “Pathet Lao positions and North Vietnamese supply lines” starting in October 1964, with 67 U\$ aircraft in Laos itself by December, and heavier bombing on Laos itself approved by Johnson! Indian writer Shibdas Ghosh [put it best](#) in November 1964:

...We all know that the Presidential election in the USA is near at hand and Goldwater, the Republican Party candidate for Presidentship, in course of his election campaign, has held Johnson guilty of following a weak-kneed policy in South-East Asia...The more bellicose circles and the military in the USA, as a mouthpiece of whom Goldwater and his supporters are moving about, are demanding of Johnson and his Administration a tough policy in South-East Asia, particularly in Vietnam and Laos...The present rulers of the USA are finding it increasingly difficult to keep up and sustain the fast falling morale of the reactionary pro-US forces in South-East Asia in general and in Vietnam and Laos in particular...to secure American presence and influence for perpetuating the US neo-colonial interests in South-East Asia, the war of aggression, which it is conducting in this part of the globe, has to be kept ablaze...Johnson has also succeeded in capitalizing on the temporary military success and pass it off as a proof of the US power and courage to ravage with impunity any socialist country and

further create the illusion among the politically unconscious that no socialist country, including the USSR, has the power and courage to resist any military action which the USA may have the pleasure to take any time it likes...Had the USSR effectively resisted the US attack [on Vietnam] by strong military measures, this section of the ignorant masses of people would have been convinced beyond all doubt that the desire for peace on the part of the USSR was not due to its weakness and that notwithstanding its superior military might the Soviet Union was a genuinely peace-loving country...This step by the USSR would, furthermore, have released a huge force in favour of national liberation movement in dependent and colonial countries throughout the world, tremendously helped the peoples in Vietnam and Laos in particular and other countries in South-East Asia to complete their national democratic revolution and given a fillip to the revolutionary struggles in the imperialist-capitalist countries. The USSR would then have been hailed as the real defender of world peace and independence of weaker nations and an active helper of the peoples in dependent and colonial countries fighting for national independence. The USSR did not avail itself of these opportunities opened up by the US military aggression on North Vietnam. It merely went to the UNO to lodge just a protest and that also perfunctorily, as per the American expectation.

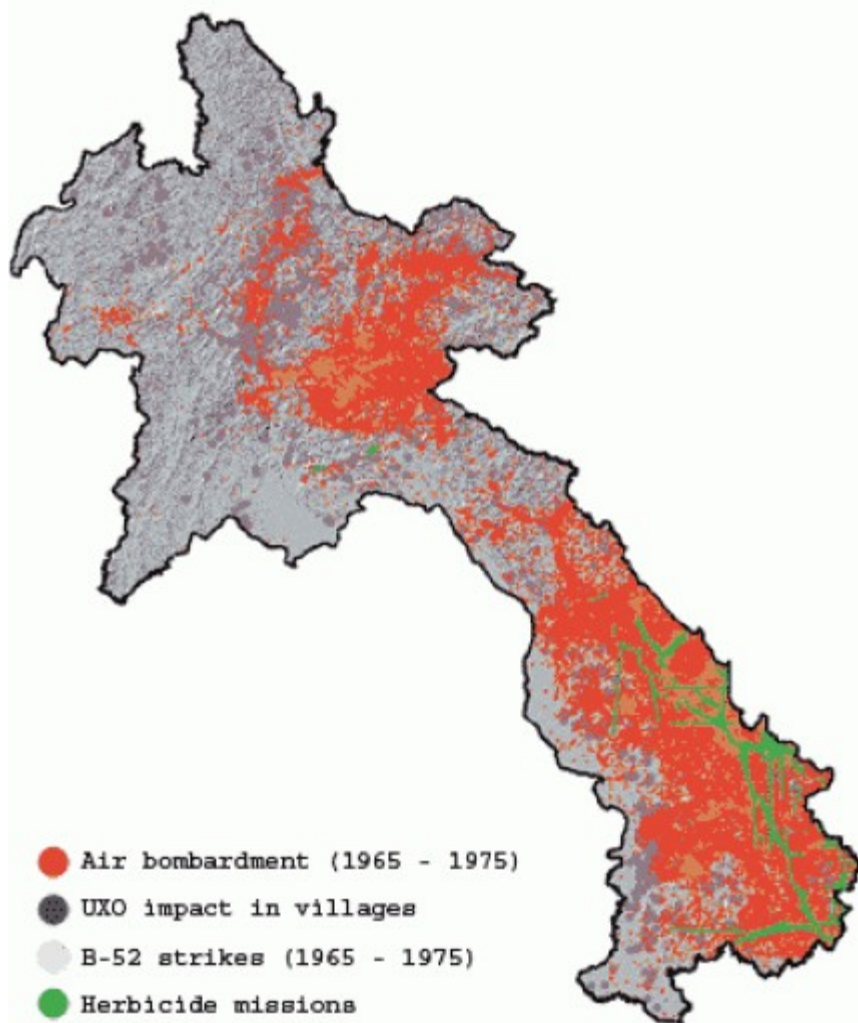
US aggression began in 1964 which would continue for many years. For one, obliteration of towns by bombing began that year, and continued to 1970, but more specifically, the country endured bombing from 1964 to 1973, with the flying of 580,000 bombing runs over the country, “one every 9 minutes for 10 years” meaning that Laos is, at the present, the most “heavily bombed nation in the history of warfare, to quote Martin Fox.³⁴ The bombing itself was designed to cut the supply lines of

34 Compiled by Ralph McGehee, "[Bombing Laos](#)," Oct 1995, with much of the information coming from the top CIA official in Laos, Douglas Blaufarb, and others from CIA Files, Congressional Research Service, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Paul Wiseman, "30-year-old bombs still very deadly in Laos," USA Today, Dec 11, 2003; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Andre Vltchek, "'Secret War' Still Killing Thousands," [Worldpress.org](#), Nov 14, 2006, reprinted from Znet; Ben Kiernan and Taylor Owen, "[Making More Enemies than We Kill? Calculating U.S. Bomb Tonnages Dropped on Laos and Cambodia, and Weighing Their](#)

the Vietnamese in the North while supporting rightist government forces in Laos, with the logic of choking off an “enemy supply line,” but this had horrible consequences, with around 2 million tons of bombs dropped over the period of bombing, more than was dropped during the entire Second World War. Cluster bombs, the weapons of choice, were dropped since they could “penetrate the jungle canopy and cover several football fields’ worth of ground” with civilians hiding by the side of the road and ditches, falling until the entire families was buried, bombing from airplanes flying so high they couldn’t be seen or approaching. Sometimes small planes which were looking for people on the ground you could even see “faces in the cockpits.” The worst for the civilians were carpet bombings with bombs exploding everywhere, but it was almost “normal” as they were bombed, as one survivor remembers, five times a day, bombing Laos “almost every day, for more than ten years. Laos had only two million people then” with people dying along with animals with many going to Vietnam for refuge because much of the country was destroyed. This same survivor put it best: the U\$ was “just bombing everything that moved. Bombing was their main obsession” as they bombed, often brutally out of “spite, with no planning” either because of bad weather or to use their “old bomb arsenal” not thinking of “the value of human lives, of the Lao people.” Furthermore, many of the bombs dropped were cluster bombs, splintering before impact, spread “hundreds of smaller bomblets -- known locally as “bombies,” 80 million of which are still in the country, leaving the country contaminated “with vast quantities of unexploded ordnance (UXO)” with over 20,000 dying since the bombing ceased in 1973, showing that war, in a real sense, isn’t over. The U\$ added insult to the injury by only spending \$118 million to clear UXOs in Laos between 1993 and 2016 while it spent, just in ten days of bombing Laos, \$130 million dollars, more than was spent to clean up UXOs over “the past 24 years”! With this, the U\$

[Implications](#)," Apr 27, 2015, Vol 13, Issue 17, No 3; Rebecca Wright, "'My friends were afraid of me': What 80 million unexploded US bombs did to Laos," *CNN*, Sept 6, 2016; Legacies of War, "[Secret War in Laos](#)," accessed Mar 3, 2018; Ian MacKinnon, "Forty years on, Laos reaps bitter harvest of the secret war," *The Guardian*, Dec 2, 2008; U\$ State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

government had to admit the horrors, but basically whitewashes and minimizes it with one sentence: “for nearly a decade beginning in 1964, Laos was subjected to heavy U.S. bombing as part of the wider war in Indochina.” This does not account for the massive suffering, death, and destruction caused by these bombs, and basically sounds like an afterthought rather than something that should be remedied by giving Laos all the money it needs to clean up UXOs in the country itself.



Effects of air bombardment on Laos, via [Red Youth](#).

The situation didn't get better in 1965, but the Laotian resistance went on, working to win battles against the “allegedly superior imperialist enemy,” like those struggling in the Philippines, Burma, and Thailand, as [Kwame Nkrumah put it](#). Secret Air Force bombing continued but very few Congressmembers or senators even knew about an “exotic program run by Lone Star rednecks and Asian hillbillies,” thinking it was “better and cheaper than anything the Pentagon was doing in South Vietnam” as it was still one of the

“[areas of interest](#)” for the CIA.³⁵ In February, Che Guevara spoke at the Second Economic Seminar of

35 Footprint Travel Guides, “Secret war,” Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Compiled by Ralph McGehee, “[Bombing Laos](#),” Oct 1995, with much of the information coming from the top CIA official in Laos, Douglas Blaufarb, and others from CIA Files, Congressional Research Service, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

Afro-Asian Solidarity, hosted in Algiers, Algeria, with “representatives of 63 African and Asian governments, as well as 19 national liberation movements” attending, the meeting opened “by Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella” and Cuba invited as “an observer to the conference” with Guevara serving on the presiding committee. In [his speech](#), he sent greetings to those at the conference, and the “heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, or Palestine,” and all “exploited countries fighting for their emancipation,” extending the “voice of friendship, our hand and our encouragement” in fighting the “imperialist enemy” which plagued them all. Later that year, Lin Biao, credited as the “architect of China’s cultural revolution” and fell “out of favor” by 1970, wrote something similar in his book, *Long Live the Victory of People’s War!: In Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in the Chinese People’s War of Resistance Against Japan*. He [wrote that](#) the “people’s war” had showed the power of Africa, Latin America, and Asia, with the peoples of “China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Indonesia, Algeria and other countries” waging “people’s wars against the imperialists and their lackeys and won great victories,” adding that while the classes which lead these “people’s wars may vary, and...the breadth and depth of mass mobilization and the extent of victory” the victories in such “people’s wars have very much weakened and pinned down the forces of imperialism, upset[ing] the U.S. imperialist plan to launch a world war, and become mighty factors defending world peace.”

The following year, 1966, the liberation struggle received needed solidarity and achieved varied victories. In March, “the Pathet Lao started to win major battles against the Royal Lao Army” and in July they “won another major battle in the Nambak Valley in northern Louangphrabang Province...overrunning a Royal Lao Army base and inflicting heavy casualties” with these victories giving “Pathet Lao new momentum in the war for control of Laos.”³⁶ The solidarity first came in a statement at the [First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples’ Solidarity Conference in Havana](#) on January

36 "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," globalsecurity.org, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

15. U\$ imperialism was condemned by delegates for “its monstrous crimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America” with a specific criticism that the murderous empire was escalating the “war of aggression in Vietnam” and that it had “intensified the war of aggression against Laos.” Within the conference itself, the Laotian delegation, along with other delegates from south Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and China, criticized the moves by Soviet revisionists, forcing them to withdraw their demands. Around the same time, Fidel Castro spoke before a crowd at the Chaplin Theater in Havana. It was the end of the first Tricontinental Conference, where the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAL) as formed. At this conference Fidel bellowed with all his might, excoriating the U\$ imperialists, to varied applause:

The people of Vietnam are reversing these forces and defeating the might of the Yankee imperialists. They not only bomb Vietnam but they also incessantly bomb the patriots of Laos. (Applause)...[the] struggle against the Vietnamese people and Laos and the threats to Cambodia demonstrate a need to render maximum solidarity and help to those nations...The hour will also come when that suppressed and exploited people, inspired by its neighboring nations, will also join the struggle against the imperialists. Meanwhile, the imperialists not only have carried out the war against Vietnam — all of Vietnam — and Laos, but also threaten Cambodia...And that is also our position on Laos, and North Vietnam, and South Vietnam. (Applause) We are a small nation, not too far from the shores of the imperialist homeland. Our arms are eminently defensive. But our men, wholeheartedly, our revolutionary militants, our fighters, are prepared to fight the imperialists in any part of the world. (Applause) Our country is a small one; our territory could even be partially occupied by the enemy; but that would never mean a cessation of our resistance...we consider that this solidarity conference of the peoples of the three continents has acted and spoken in such a way that the support and feelings of solidarity for Vietnam has become evident, and in addition will grow. And as in the case of

Vietnam, so it is for Laos and Cambodia, which are the nations being attacked or running the risk of being attacked.

Later that month, the Chinese Foreign Ministry, [echoed this statement on January 18th](#). They argued that while there has been a “temporary suspension” of bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, “bombing raids against Laos” have increased, which have caused “heavy losses in life and property to the Laotian people” and even spreading “toxic chemicals over Luang Prabang Province in Upper Laos to wreak havoc among the Laotian people.” They added that “wanton bombing of Central and Lower Laos by U.S. imperialism” seems to be a “prelude to military actions on a still larger scale,” and further saying that the Chinese “resolutely support the Laotian people in their just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys,” calling upon all “peace-loving countries and people of the world to condemn the brutal crimes of U.S. imperialism.”

The following year, 1967, the liberation struggle of the Laotians went forward. [The same year](#) that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was created, Che Guevara spoke, like Fidel, to the Tricontinental Conference. On April 16 [he gave his speech](#) in which he said that “Laos and Vietnam are torn by a civil war which has ceased being such by the entry into the conflict of U.S. imperialism with all its might” which has transformed the whole region in to a “dangerous detonator ready at any moment to explode,” adding that there are “points of friction” there. His solution was that there should be the development of a “true proletarian internationalism” which has “international proletarian armies,” fighting under the flag of “the sacred cause of redeeming humanity,” ending by saying that for a comrade “to die under the flag of Vietnam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Bolivia, of Brazil...would be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, even a European.”



Bombs in Laos beside house, via [Red Youth](#).

The following year, 1968, the liberation struggle in Laos got another boost. While bombing of Laos continued, especially along the Ho Chi Minh trail and Zieng Khouang Province, and fighting escalated between the Royal Low Army and LPLA of Pathet Lao, there was hope on the horizon.³⁷ The Viet Minh, assisting the Laotians, and the Pathet Lao began to “[get the upper hand](#) in the north east of the country,” showing their liberation struggle was succeeding.

US aggression against Laos and all those who lived in the region of Indochina continued in 1969. By then, “less than 500,000 tonnes of bombs had been dropped on Laos” and for the years to come, that amount, nearly, “was dropped each year” while the CIA’s secret army was further helped by a [stepped up bombing](#) of Laos, engaging in varied “surprise attacks.”³⁸ While reconnaissance of Laotian

37 Compiled by Ralph McGehee, “[Bombing Laos](#),” Oct 1995, with much of the information coming from the top CIA official in Laos, Douglas Blaufarb, and others from CIA Files, Congressional Research Service, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, “[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#),” Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

38 Footprint Travel Guides, “Secret war,” Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; “Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos,” [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018.

urban areas continued, and [into 1970](#), this did not stop, in June, the Vietnamese and Pathet Lao, using Soviet-made tanks, pushing the “Royal Lao Army and the Neutralists out of their base at Muang Souy northwest of the Plain of Jars” while [some of those in the US Congress](#) warned about US forces in Laos, saying it was reminiscent of the beginning of the war against Vietnam. In the years to come, from September 1969 to February 1971, Fred Branfman interviewed hundreds of peasants “who had fled the Plain of Jars in northern Laos” who were refugees from “the illegal Nixon-Kissinger air war,” but while he “dispatched tapes of these interviews and photos to congressional committees in Washington and later appeared before a hearing chaired by Sen. Ted Kennedy,” efforts which generated “a flurry of attention for the victims of the illegal Laos air war,” ultimately no one from the “Nixon administration was ever brought to justice as a result.”³⁹ They were only brought to “justice” through the Watergate scandal which was revealed, mainly, by a high-ranking FBI official, Mark Felt, or “Deep Throat” to *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward.

Then we come to 1970, with the war raging on. Newspapers [became more critical](#), even as they stayed within their bourgeois constraints, noting that US arms were enriching a Laotian warlord named Gen. Kouprasith Abhay, that that Pentagon and CIA employed to circumvent Geneva agreement, and that Meo Tribesmen were wearing US military clothes, carrying M-16 rifles and pistols, riding in jeeps. Others noted that the Royal Lao Army and US-backed guerrilla forces “smashed” by combined North Vietnamese-Laos and that there was low morale among Royal Lao forces itself! It was this year that the US had to admit, publicly, activity in Laos which was beyond “‘armed reconnaissance’ flights over northern provinces” with the bombing of the country which the Rand Corporation described, in a racist manner, as “neither a geographical nor an ethnic or social entity, but merely a political convenience...hardly a country except in the legal sense.”⁴⁰ At the same time, a flood of refugees

39 Fred Branfman, “Wanted,” *Salon*, May 18, 2001.

40 Footprint Travel Guides, “Secret war,” Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; “Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos,” [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018; Compiled by Ralph McGehee, “[Bombing Laos](#),” Oct 1995, with much of the information coming from the top CIA official in Laos, Douglas Blaufarb, and others from CIA Files, Congressional

arrived in Vietname in a desperate effort to “escape the conflict” while the Pathet Lao had swelled to an army which numbered 48,000, and was prepared to directly challenge “Royal Lao Army forces on their own territory” with Soviet-made long-range artillery helping the Pathet Lao and their Vietnamese comrades neutralize, to an extent, the “Royal Lao Army’s advantage of air superiority.” As such, the liberation fighters won more ground and had more victories. For instance, the “destructive and terrifying” bombing of Laos did not stop the stronghold of the CIA’s secret army being captured and [this base being torched by Laotian forces](#), in March, undoubtedly terrifying the CIA without end. In April, as the Vietnamese and Laotians called for an end to the U\$ bombing, [more focus was paid](#), in bourgeois press in the U\$, that Air America (and Continental Air Services) served the CIA by parachuting Meo Tribesmen and other secret agents" behind enemy lines, with these forces headed by General Vang Pao and aided by U\$ air support. A [few months later](#), the Vietnamese argued that 12,000 U\$ military personnel and 10,000 Thai soldiers were in Laos, which imperialists would have declared was a lie, but likely was close to the reality, if not completely accurate. Around that same time, bourgeois media noted that the drug highway in the region included Laos. The same month, June, the Chinese Communist Party called for a united front of Laos, Cambodia, China, Juche Korea, and the northern part of Vietnam. Sadly, this floundered on opposition from Vietnam, with the latter calling for a broader front against U\$ imperialism instead.⁴¹ Some months later, in September, Salvador Allende, who would be overthrown by the CIA-backed coup three years later, on September 11th, [spoke before the Chilean Parliament in his first speech](#) after his election. Within this speech he connected the struggles of Chile with those across the world, saying he and Chile stood in solidarity with others struggling against hegemony, mentioning Laos briefly:

Our fight against under-development and against dependence on foreign hegemonies gives

Chile a community of interests with the peoples of Africa and Asia. For this reason the Popular

Research Service, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

41 *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism*, ed. S. A. Smith (London: OUP Oxford, 2014), p 384.

Government has decided to participate actively in the group of so-called unaligned nations and to take a determined part in their deliberations and agreements. Our concept of the universal scope of the United Nations leads us to vote in favour of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic. Our respect for the independence of all countries requires us to condemn the Vietnam war and its extension into Laos and Cambodia.

In 1971, the imperialists tried a new tactic. In February, the puppet “South Vietnam” invaded Laos to cut off the Ho Chi Minh trail, supported by logistical and air support of the U\$, bringing in two divisions.⁴² However, once they were in Laos, commanders of this force were “separated from their resupply bases by long logistics lines resulting in an early termination of the offensive,” meaning that they were, effectively, defeated. In August of the same year, Senator Stuart Symington [directly questioned U\\$ war in Laos](#), saying the CIA is involved, directing his focus toward U\$ paying foreign mercenaries. He argued that there were 115,000-139,000 forces of Pathet Lao and North Vietnam in Laos compared with 95,000-97,000 friendly to the U\$, with bombing on a "regular basis" of northern Laos by B-52s since Feb 1970 which was not told to Congress at the time! He also said that the CIA trains and arms the Royal Lao Army, with U\$ support for Thai forces also there as well, with cost to the U\$ in the hundreds of millions. Of course, more CIA-friendly Senators tried to say he was "wrong" as one would expect. In December of the same year, the Pathet Lao took Paksong on the Bolovens Plateau, engaging in further advances, encircling “Thakhek on the Mekong” while moving toward the Laotian capital, Vientiane.⁴³

42 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 41; "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," globalsecurity.org, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

43 "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," globalsecurity.org, accessed Mar 2, 2018.



Hmong reactionaries at hidden camp in Laos jungles, part of the CIA's secret army.

In January of the following year, 1972, [another bourgeois parliament](#) in Laos took power. Later that same year, the Second Party Congress was held, the LPP was renamed Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) and RLG and Pathet Lao began negotiations for cease-fire in 1972, with an agreement signed in February 1973.⁴⁴ It is important to note that by the midpoint of the year, when “serious peace moves” were underway” 4/5 of the country was controlled by communists, giving them an advantage at the negotiating table.

1973 was a year of victory for the Laotian liberation struggle. With U\$ intervention, which was conducted due to a fear of "communist domination" there, as it would threaten "American security" and imperial interests, wanting to satisfy their "appetite," part of a policy of "containment," coming to an end, a coalition government was formed, which was soon dominated by Pathet Lao, with the political

⁴⁴ Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

struggle continuing.⁴⁵ The [bombing of Laos](#), which had killed many civilians and displaced much of the population, ended on February 22, due to the cease-fire, but the horrid cluster bombs remained, as did the remnants of the CIA's secret army, created in what they called "Project Momentum," as Vang Pao told his fellow Hmong to disband and give up their arms. Chou En-Lai [put it best](#) in his "Report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China" on August 24th:

The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism.

1974 was a watershed year. For one, US forces finally left Laos while Vietnamese comrades stayed, and Vang Pao fled to Thailand.⁴⁶ While this was the case, what Anikendra Nath Sen [wrote that year](#) was still accurate: "today, imperialism wears a new look. It has changed from blatant colonialism to neo-colonialism. To look for it in the same guise as did Lenin and Mao would be erroneous. Today, one sees US B-52s and GIs in Cambodia and Laos." For Juche Korea and Laos, diplomatic ties were [established](#) on June 24.⁴⁷ An embassy was opened that year. The Hungarian embassy, in a May 1975 report, added that in the past "contacts of substance" [were maintained by the Koreans](#) "solely with the

45 Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 41; Footprint Travel Guides, "Secret war," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Fred Branfman, "Wanted," Salon, May 18, 2001; "History Of Laos," [laos-travel-guide.com](#), via Internet Archive, accessed Feb 3, 2018; Martin E. Goldstein, *American Policy Toward Laos*, (US: "Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1973), pp 32-33, 35, 36, 39; Footprint Travel Guides, "Secret war," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018.

46 "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "Secret war," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

47 "Laos Expresses Concern Over North Korea Nuclear Program," *The Laotian Times* (reprinting from the *Korea Herald*), Dec 6, 2017; Virginie Grzelczyk, *North Korea's New Diplomacy: Challenging Political Isolation in the 21st Century* (New York: Springer, 2017), pp 85, 86.

Pathet Lao” saying that 10 years prior (1964) there was “an occasion of contact between Pyongyang and Vientiane” but this was accidental. They further said that the embassy was opened in Vientiane in September and that in 1975 two “Laotian (coalition) delegations [were] in Pyongyang” the first of which was an economic delegation, the other a political delegation, and that Tiao Sisoumang Sisaleumsak saying that “the experiences he gained in the DPRK, and his conversation with Kim Il Sung, made a great impression on him.” By 1975, the Laotians had returned the favor as they broke off relations with the ROK.⁴⁸

The final year of Laotian liberation was at hand: 1975. As [anti-U\\$ demonstrations](#) continued in Laos, CIA agents who had lived near or within the Laotian capital of Vientiane fled, especially after the advancement on the capital starting in April and the People’s Revolutionary Committee taking full hold by August 18. At that point, crowds of several hundred thousand gathered to hear the speeches of the Pathet Lao, while the coalition government was dismissed and a coffin representing “dead American imperialism” was burned, showing that, despite what bourgeois analysts said, Communism was not “nothing” or a victory secured by a “small...committed elite” but was a victory of the people, a victory for the proletariat.⁴⁹ After their victory, Kaystone became the premier (he would not become President [until 1991](#)), Prince Souphanouvong (the “Red Prince”) president, and the monarchy was abolished, with the country becoming a republic, with a socialist transformation of the economy launched. This was all possible because the Pathet Lao, supported by the Soviets and Chinese, had organized demonstrations in the Spring, broke the resistance of “Vang Pao’s Hmong” and negotiated for the next few months, [with a delegation of the Laotian Kingdom](#), headed by Tiao Sisoumang Sisaleumsak, visiting the Soviet Union, Juche Korea, and GDR (German Democratic Republic or “East” Germany)

48 Byung Chul Koh and Tae-Hwan Kwak, [The Foreign relations of North Korea: new perspectives](#) (US: Westview Press, 1987), 368.

49 X Footprint Travel Guides, "Secret war," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "Modern Laos," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Pathet Lao Uprising in Laos," [globalsecurity.org](#), accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

in April of the same year.⁵⁰ Furthermore, from April to August there were “escalating street demonstrations” which forced the “rightist politicians and generals to flee the country” with USAID rightly targeted by the Laotian liberation forces, and [the re-education of the remaining Laotian officers](#) beginning in August, in an effort to help them become loyal comrades rather than servants of monarchy. Such an effort was not “brainwashing” as some bourgeois analysts would undoubtedly say, but was rather about the next stage in liberation: building a stable state which can resist imperialist subversion. By October, the Laotian communists numbered, as the CIA estimated, [15,000-20,000 people](#), although this was undoubtedly a low number.



December 2nd, 1975

is a day that should be remembered in the annals of history. It was the day that the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPPR) was proclaimed, with the Lao People's Revolutionary

Laotians after victory in 1975, via [Red Youth](#)

Party (LPRP) taking the

reins of power with the abdication of the King and the Lao monarchy abolished, along with “King

Samsenthai's 600-year-old system of village autonomy.”⁵¹ However, in a manner that showed their

50 X The effort in Pyongyang was an attempt to “solve the Laotian domestic political situation and economic chaos in a quick (!) way” with Kim Il Sung sending his greetings to the king, Souphanouvong, and a “small crowd” welcoming the Laotian delegation at the airport.

51 Footprint Travel Guides, “Laos under Communism,” Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, “[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#),” Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; “History Of Laos,” [laos-travel-guide.com](#), via Internet Archive, accessed Feb 3, 2018; Lonely Planet, “History” of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 41; “Laos country profile,” *BBC News*, Jan 9, 2018.

efforts of political reconciliation “Souvanna and the ex-king, Savang Vatthana” were made “special advisers' to the politburo.” A new flag was created, and a new era was begun, with December 2nd remaining, to this day, a public holiday of Laos. While bourgeois media would say this began an “era of isolation” the reality was it opened up new doors and opportunities for the Laotian people. This was evident by the fact that Juche Korea [commended](#) the Laotians on the 41st founding anniversary of the LPDR, in December 2016, with Kim Jong Un [saying](#) that “for 41 years the Lao government and people have achieved great successes in the work for defending the country and building the state under the correct leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.” The following year, the Lao embassy in Pyongyang hosted a reception, on November 30, at the Taedonggang Diplomatic Club to mark the “42nd founding anniversary of Laos” with varied important Korean officials invited, while Kim Jong-Un [saying later that year](#) that “the Lao government and people have achieved great successes in the work to defend the socialist ideology, consolidate the people's democratic system and improve the people's living standard under the correct leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.”⁵² Whether you think Laos is revisionist or not (which I’ll talk about later in this section), the fact is that the Koreans stand in solidarity with them. After all, diplomatic ties with the ROK were severed following the LPRP coming to power, meaning that Vientiane only had ties with Juche Korea.

In the years to come, the Laotians worked hard to make their country fully socialist. They faced many challenges as the country was very poor, with much of the country destroyed and devastated from the US bombing, while they worked to bring forward a planned economy. Additionally, 30-40,000 reactionaries were sent to “re-education” camps in order to make a more cohesive state, which again was not “brainwashing” or some horrible, vile place, and hopefully lead more people to work with the country in its reconstruction.⁵³ It should be no surprise that the Hmong, strongly anti-communist and

52 KCNA, "[Lao embassy hosts reception](#)," *Pyongyang Times*, Nov 30, 2017; *Country Report: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar* (The Unit, 1996), p 23.

53 Peter Ferdinand, *Governance in Pacific Asia: Political Economy and Development from Japan to Burma* (USA: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), p 179; Footprint Travel Guides, "Laos under Communism," Footprint Handbooks,

supporting bourgeois democracy, were combated by the new government as they were the same people whom the CIA had recruited and supported from 1961 to 1973 as part of their “secret army” while the Vietnamese comrades assisted in keeping the country secure. As a result, the U\$ eventually became a recipient of refugees from countries such as Laos, where the Hmong, would establish contacts and work to spread their gospel of human rights imperialism to all those that would listen. At the same time, the new government worked to accelerate basic infrastructure with financial aid and organized itself in a way that modeled the government structures of the Soviets and Vietnamese with the LPRP having a major role in government, while the economy was nationalized, and price controls were introduced to combat inflation. Likely in fearing the communists and/or because they favored the U\$-backed government, “10% of the population” which includes basically the whole “educated class” of the country fled, setting “Lao development back at least a generation,” making their efforts daunting, with aid from friendly countries across the world insufficient to replace spending of the U\$. While some say there was a badly planned and executed attempt to collectivize or cooperativise agriculture, the fact is that the economy grew by 3% a year, but [people suffered](#) since many of the “educated and skilled” had fled the country.

These were hard times without question. Laos was, unlike other countries such as those in the Eastern part of Europe, was not as industrialized, and it faced continuing resistance by the mountain peoples, the Hmong, whom were helped by the Thais as their country served as a refuge and base of imperialism in the region, even as the new government attempted to reform the economy and promote decorum, which perhaps was not the best focus.⁵⁴ The Laotians, like the Vietnamese and Koreans, faced

accessed Mar 2, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "History Of Laos," [laos-travel-guide.com](#), via Internet Archive, accessed Feb 3, 2018; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; U\$ State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018. While some, like Footprint Travel Guides, claim that the first actions of the government was to “stamp out unsavoury behavior” other sources have contradicting this, showing it is an utter lie.

54 Thomas Fuller, "Communism and Capitalism Are Mixing in Laos," *New York Times*, Sept 15, 2009; *DK World History Atlas: Mapping the Human Journey, Fully Revised and Updated*, ed. Jeremy Black (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2005, 2nd edition), p 253; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005,

the challenge of building states on the "basis of former colonial regimes," attempting to establish an "international presence" while surrounded by "hostile capitalist states." Some programs did not seem to be as universal as they should. Cooperatives were introduced throughout Laos in 1978-1979 but the government, led by the Lao Front for National Construction, an inter-party coalition founded in 1979, as the years went on, started to use "market mechanisms," abandoning a push for a planned economy as I'll talk about more in detail in this section. Still, one cannot forget that the "City of Victory" (Vieng Xai), in Laos, was cobbled together by comrades from the Soviet Union, DPRK, and Vietnam, showing that they were not alone, in this post-war reconstruction after [so much death](#) and destruction.

The question remains, as it should for comrades, what went "wrong" in Laos? Why didn't it stay more socialist like Juche Korea? As one put it [wisely on /r/communism](#), the slow economic reforms in Laos are not due to less revisionism but are because the country has been much poorer, having difficulty in getting the "the sort of foreign investment and domestic capital that would have made a stock market viable until recently" while the LPRP pursues a "relatively hands-off policy towards society" which is similarly practiced by the Communist Party of Vietnam. [Another comrade added more](#) about this country. As they described it, while not much about Laos screams "communism" they officially consider themselves "a Marxist communist country and have a single-party government," but they maintain a "market economy and a de facto ethnic hierarchy with the minority Hmong population being considered second-class citizens by many." This was worsened by the fact that the "Hmong insurgent forces [are used] by the US to destabilize Laos and promote monarchy over communism. This comrade continued by saying that the weakness of the country's "market economy" in blamed on outside actors such as Thailand, and the country has been "heavily beaten down over the

updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "Secret war," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Peter Ferdinand, *Governance in Pacific Asia: Political Economy and Development from Japan to Burma* (USA: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), p 32; Peter Ferdinand, *Governance in Pacific Asia: Political Economy and Development from Japan to Burma* (USA: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), p 179; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 42; Rough Guides, *The Rough Guide to Laos* (US: Penguin, 2015), p 316.

last 200 years” and it doesn’t, simply, have the resources “to provide the kind of services we would expect from a country that considers itself communist.” As such, even if they wanted to provide “essential social services” they wouldn’t be able to do so for a number of reasons. They went onto say that there is a lack of useful infrastructure with the country the “the most heavily bombed country in the world per capita, with tens of thousands of unexploded bombs still littering the country” and the Mekong River, which “provides irrigation for subsistence farming,” is polluted by countries, such as China, upstream.

There is [one final comrade which is worth mentioning](#). They argued that the LPRP made a number of “critical errors” early on, with the biggest error that they reapplied the situation of the Communists in Vietnam to their country, but since Laos “didn't have a developed and entrenched landlord class...they ended up mishandling relations with peasants, turning sections of the peasantry into antagonistic forces” and later, after after the USSR dissolved, they were “forced to appeal to the World Bank and the IMF for financial assistance” which demanded neoliberalism. Even so, this comrade wrote, the LPRP is dedicated to Marxism-Leninism, using economic planning with a degree of state-owned enterprises, with “130 reported state-owned enterprises with more than usd\$5 billion in assets” which are “mostly concentrated in key sectors like telecommunications, energy, finance, airlines, and mining.” This means that, as the comrade noted, that “anywhere from 20% to 60% of the GDP of Laos is directly coordinated in accordance with the five year national socio-economic development plans.” They ended by saying that “ownership of land is restricted to 50-year-leases, which is similar to Vietnam and China,” that “all national resources are publicly owned,” adding that whole the LPRP has a “fairly strong” position there is “still a long way to go in terms of development.” This comrade, when combined with the comments of the other two, says that Laos made mistakes but we shouldn’t hit them over the head with a bludgeon for it.



Memorial in Phonsavan, Laos, showing Vietnamese and Pathet Lao soldiers, via laospdrnews.

In 1976, the Laotian revolution seemed to move forward slowly but surely. As relations with Thailand deteriorated, there were claims that the CIA-backed Thai military “was supporting Hmong and other right-

wing Lao rebels” so the Laotians arrested reactionaries, while the Hmong reactionaries continued to favor their monarchist ideas and resist the Laotian revolutionaries in power.⁵⁵ This resistance by the Hmong was after an attempt by the new government to talk the Hmong “into joining in the new political life and socialist economy of the country through face-to-face “seminars”, leaflet drops and radio...broadcasts” but this sadly failed, leading to armed clashes. While the Philadelphia Workers’ Organizing Committee [argued](#) that a “rift between China and its sister socialist nations” needed to be stopped, saying that the land would “only aid the imperialists and the revisionists,” the Laotians took another step. The central committee of the LPRP passed the Third Resolution which established the “guidelines for establishing the socialist revolution” going forward.⁵⁶

55 Footprint Travel Guides, "Laos under Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

56 Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

1977 was a tough year for the Laotian revolutionaries. Hmong fighters began to even more harshly attack the new government, with Vietnamese comrades helping them, as they were sent in to stop this monarchist rebellion, leading many “thousands of Hmong to flee to Thailand.” The campaign led by the government, and assisted by thousands of Vietnamese comrades, in 1977 and 1978, dealt “a severe blow to the resistance, from which it has never really been able to recover”!⁵⁷ This means that efforts such as those carried out by the Laotians and Vietnamese to restore order was a success, just like the arrest of the previous King (and other royal figures), further making sure monarchist forces didn’t come together as an anti-communist bludgeon. Some way they were treated “badly” in the camps they arrived in, but this is disputed as the sources on the subject are biased in such a way against the Laotians. Later that year, in July, the Laotians and Vietnamese signed a 25-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which has provisions including one calling for realisation of a close cooperation with a view to reinforcing the defence capacities [of the two parties] ...in the struggle against ...foreign reactionary forces” showing that the relations between the two countries were strong. As the revisionists in China were entering into Power, the China Study Group, in October, [wrote that](#) the “Chinese Communist Party has led the Marxist-Leninists around the world in combatting Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism...It has led many nations to stand up to the two superpowers and...given essential close comradely support to the parties and people of Albania, Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.” They added that despite this “glorious history and its many two-line struggles” it is not “forever vaccinated against revisionism” as has come to be true in the years since that point.

In 1978, the Laotians turned another corner. The policy of “re-education” or convincing people, like former royalist Touby Lyfoung, to abandon their old bourgeois ideals in camps of sorts, which were not “concentration camps” or “prisons” as anti-communists would undoubtedly portray them, was

57 Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

winding down, with the human rights imperialist Amnesty International declaring in 1986 that “6000-7000 were still being held” although this is total hogwash.⁵⁸ The same year, in January, the interim three-year economic development plan began, a positive for the revolution moving forward. Additionally, in his book, [*Imperialism and the Revolution*](#), independent and strongly anti-revisionist leader Enver Hoxha of Albania, argued against the newfound leadership in China, [saying that](#) it had forgotten “the aggression of the United States of America against Korea...the prolonged and barbarous war against Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, it has forgotten its [the U\$] war in the Middle East, its intervention in the republics of Central America, etc,” thinking that U\$ imperialism had been tamed. Later in the book, he [directly aimed his ire at the revisionists in China](#): “the policy of China is not and cannot be correct so long as it is not a Marxist-Leninist policy” and that if its policy is not Marxist-Leninist, it cannot “be in sincere friendship with Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Laos, [and] Thailand,” instead posing as it wants a “friendship with these countries” but, in reality, “disputes over political, territorial and economic questions exist between China and these countries.” This was proven true by the fact Vang Pao of the Hmong reactionaries reportedly contacted the Chinese leaders in August 1978, and in 1979, the leader of Chao Fa Hmong in the nearby U\$-allied Thailand, Pa Kao Her, “sent 100 young Hmong for military training in southern China and received military aid from a local Chinese army commander.”⁵⁹ Luckily for Laos and its revolution, “most of their Chinese arms” given to the Hmong reactionaries “were confiscated by the Thai border patrol police,” which was not because they favored Laos but perhaps to act like they were “neutral.”

58 xFootprint Travel Guides, “Laos under Communism,” Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, [“Table A. Chronology of Important Events,”](#) Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

59 X Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

1979 was a sad year for the Laotian revolution. While the Hmong were widely routed, fleeing to refugee camps in Thailand, some of the Hmong, for a time, “gained support from China which supplied it with arms and military training from 1979 to 1980, following the 1979 border clash between China and Vietnam.”⁶⁰ Additionally, the strategies of developing a socialist economy seemed to not be planned as well as they should: people were allowed to farm their own land and leave cooperatives, with “private enterprise” permitted. On a positive note, however, the Lao Front for National Construction was established, which replaced the Laotian Patriotic Front (LPF), in February.



Photo showing the Vietnamese liberation (not invasion) of Laos on January 7, 1979, with one tankman waving to onlookers

Around this time, deluded, confused Marxist-Leninists spoke of Vietnam as “colonialist” because their dear “Kampuchea” was being liberated by the Vietnamese, with the help of the Soviet revisionists, and [that their 50,000 troops in Laos](#) made it

a colony, a laughable claim

since they were asked to stay there, and brought there with Laotian permission. Following this were [accusations](#) that Vietnam wanted an “Indochina Federation” that would include itself, Laos and Kampuchea,” with others saying that there were “[revisionists in countries](#) like Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Laos.” As it should be clear, “Kampuchea,” or officially Democratic Kampuchea, was the

⁶⁰ Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; “Lao People’s Democratic Republic History Timeline,” worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Lonely Planet, “History” of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Library of Congress, “[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#),” Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

name of the state controlled by the Khmer Rouge which existed from 1975 to 1982. They lost control of Cambodia in 1979, becoming a "rump state" of China, and then the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) was formed, existing from 1982 to 1992, succeeded by the Provisional Government of National Union and National Salvation of Cambodia (PGNUNSC), founded in July 1994 which was finally dissolved in June 1998. Sadly, Juche Korea embraced the CGDK, with Kim il-Sung, in 1970, offering Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted in a coup that year, "sanctuary in North Korea but also had a new home built for him about an hour's drive north of Pyongyang" with a friendship which started in 1961, "at a Non-Aligned Movement meeting in Belgrade" with DPRK guards apparently guarding his house.⁶¹ This was due to the Sino-Soviet split, with revisionists now in the Soviet Union and China, with, in this case, the Koreans siding with the Chinese, refusing to recognize the government put in place after the effort of Vietnamese liberation (which they called an "invasion") despite "immense pressure at the time put on Pyongyang from Moscow. Even by April 1986, when Kim Il-sung and Sihanouk met, the former said that the "prince" was still regarded as "Cambodia's legitimate head of state" and when Sihanouk returned to Phnom Penh in September 1993, he "arrived with 35 North Korean bodyguards." While this support by Juche Korea was clearly a mistake, it was part of the bitter Sino-Soviet split, and the Koreans, in this case, found themselves on the wrong side of history.

Saying all of this, it necessary to renounce the Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, once and for all. While it was in the "interests of all three countries of Indochina– Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea—to establish close relations, to cooperate economically, to resolve contradictions between themselves quickly and peacefully, to pool their collective limited resources to the extent they possibly could" Pol Pot [rejected this course](#). Furthermore, the Khmer Rouge, which claimed it was "officially atheist" engaged in religious repression by going after Buddhist monks, was extremely nationalist (to an extent

61 Bertil Lintner, "Odd couple: The royal and the Red," *Asia Times*, Oct 31, 2007.

that it was racist toward Vietnamese people) and had close ties with its major backer, the Chinese revisionists, with some support from Juche Korea starting in the 1970s, but not anything on the level of China. During its existence, there were numerous diplomatic missions in Phnom Penh from Juche Korea, China, Albania, Laos, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Vietnam (until December 1977), but the Chinese were the big cheerleaders of Khmer Rouge. This horrid state, while it existed for “three years, eight months and twenty days” was extremely nationalist, distorting Marxist principles with an unprecedented genocide which killed millions, said to be over 3 million by the Vietnam-aligned People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), under 2 million by a French scholar, or 300,000 as stated by [Michael Vickery](#), making them, when “it comes to genocide...[amateurs](#) compared to the U.S. imperialists” and totally rejected the “the idea of communism itself!...Pol Pot & Co. were not communists.”⁶² They also, as it is worth noting, “the CPK [Communist Party of Kampuchea] [was not adapting Marxism's lessons](#)...to Cambodia's specific and unique conditions” but instead “300,000 peasant settlers, plantation workers and other Vietnamese were driven out amid a squall of racist hysteria whipped up by the US puppet regime, drawing on animosities accumulated in earlier centuries of Vietnamese occupation. Within five months after the liberation in Cambodia, most of the remaining 150,000 ethnic Vietnamese were also removed to Vietnam...All this adds up to a systematic approach: religion was abolished by decree, but the CPK did not hesitate to rely on the most backward religious and ethnic prejudices.” Their supposed plan for “building socialism quickly” but couldn't lead to socialism because “the CPK's approach to economics was capitalist in essence...[while] the CPK leadership analysed that a “life-and-death struggle” threatened their Party, they resorted to secrecy,

62 Henry Locard, "State Violence in Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979) and Retribution (1979–2004)," *European Review of History* Vol. 12, No. 1, March 2005, multiple pages, accessed Mar 3, 2018. [Others have lower estimates](#), including one saying that “Pol Pot executed between 75,000 and 150,000 people, who were disproportionately urban dwellers, upper class or intellectual, between 1975 and 1979,” with this article saying that Pol Pot was “an opportunist and not a Maoist” and while “the Maoist press praised the efforts of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Korean peoples to struggle for self-determination and rebuild their countries,” the Cambodians never “called their communist parties Maoist...Pol Pot only called himself a Maoist to obtain military aid and sanctuary from China. He changed his line to flatter whoever was in power in Beijing and never supported the Gang of Four.”

torture and executions...[the] CPK line and policy was, despite its occasional Marxist terminology, profoundly anti-Marxist.”

Even bourgeois scholars, who are anti-communist, admit it was the “proportionately the [most lethal](#)” of so-called “communist” states (even though Khmer Rouge wasn’t communist or socialist). Not only were “enemies of the people” selected on a spurious basis since “there never had been a feudal land-owning class and there were no real capitalists in the country,” but there was “wartime brutality...obsessive and threatened nationalism.” After their defeat, “Cambodia became once again the battlefield of forces operating from beyond its borders” with the Chinese refusing to admit “the defeat of their proteges” while the Thais didn’t “stand idle while a vast Vietnamese army was close to their border” and the U\$ didn’t see it as a major priority to denounce “the crimes of the Khmer Rouge” instead wanting to counter “what was perceived as the expansionist policies of the Soviets” so they, with the “military and financial help of China” revived and developed “armed resistance to the Vietnamese troops, with the resurrected KR at its core”!⁶³ Additionally, famously Margaret Thatcher said that some of the Khmer Rouge were "more reasonable" than Pol Pot which is such as absurd statement on so many levels. This statement however is not a surprise as the U\$ basically “[supported the return of a genocidal regime](#),” aligning itself with Chinese revisionists, as [Hoxha noted](#) in one of his critical articles, with there being “a major American responsibility for this whole situation” since a “war-crimes trial could have posed a problem for the U.S. because it could have raised questions about U.S. bombing from 1969 through 1973” as a scholar, Stephen Heder, pointed out. Even Carter National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski admitted that “I encourage[d] the Chinese to support Pol Pot.

63 John Gittings, "Son Sann," *The Guardian*, Dec 22, 2000 In order to counter the Khmer Rouge, it is worth linking to their propaganda, including their [pathetic 21-article Constitution](#), drafted in May 1976, which declares that “territorial integrity” is important, that there are “non-aligned,” while also saying that “property for everyday use remains in private hands” (doesn’t sound too socialist), the new “culture is...opposed to the corrupt, reactionary culture...dangerous activities in opposition to the people’s State must be condemned to the highest degree...it is the duty of all to defend and build the country together in accordance with individual ability and potential...reactionary religions...are absolutely forbidden.” This constitution seems to be “[positive](#)” [enough](#) that it could pull in the “Third World.”

The question was how to help the Cambodian people. Pol Pot was an abomination. We could never support him, but China could” even as he later scoffed at this, acting like he never “encouraged China to support the genocidal dictator Pol Pot in Cambodia, because Pol Pot’s Khmer Rouge were the enemies of communist Vietnam” even though his above quote shows that he did!⁶⁴ This was as bad as what Kissinger said [in April 1998](#) to sexual abuser Charlie Rose sort of a denial-non-denial: “the Thais and the Chinese did not want a Vietnamese-dominated Indochina. We didn’t want the Vietnamese to dominate. I don’t believe we did anything for Pol Pot. But I suspect we closed our eyes when some others did something for Pol Pot.” This aligns with what Kissinger said in late 1975 that “you should tell the Cambodians that we will be friends with them. They are murderous thugs but we won’t let that stand in our way” or that fact that “support for the Khmer Rouge became the position of Democratic and Republican politicians...for a dozen years after Vietnam won a brief war against Cambodia in January 1979” since “Vietnam was allied with the Soviet Union and the Khmer Rouge was allied with China, [and] the Cambodian[s]...[were considered preferable](#) to the Vietnamese who had ended the genocide in Cambodia. The United States condemned the Vietnamese invasion and was one of the

64 Elizabeth Becker, "Death of Pol Pot: The Diplomacy; Pot's End Won't Stop U.S. Pursuit of His Circle," *New York Times*, Apr 17, 1998; Godfrey Hodgson, "Zbigniew Brzezinski obituary," *The Guardian*, Nov 27, 2017; Donald Bleacher, "How the West Missed the Horrors of Cambodia," *The Daily Beast*, Sept 5, 2016; "Reagan Is Urged to End U.N. Support of Pol Pot," *New York Times*, Dec 10, 1981. In December 1981 there was “an open letter urging the United States to drop its support of the deposed Pol Pot regime at the United Nations was sent to President Reagan today. The letter was signed by more than 130 prominent people, including politicians, movie actors, writers, academic figures and religious and humanitarian leaders. The letter, referring to Cambodia as Democratic Kampuchea, the name used by the Pol Pot forces, said: "U.S. diplomatic support in the United Nations for Democratic Kampuchea, while others provide weapons to Pol Pot's terrorist guerrilla forces, prolongs Cambodia's suffering, endangers its fragile recovery and risks wider war." Also consider the “[trove of more than 500,000 US diplomatic cables](#) from 1978 released by WikiLeaks on Wednesday [which] includes hundreds that paint a vivid picture of a US administration torn between revulsion at the brutality of Pol Pot’s government and fear of Vietnamese influence should it collapse” as one on October 11, 1978 saying “we believe a national Cambodia must exist even though we believe the Pol Pot regime is the world’s worst violator of human rights,” while another on October 17 says that “we cannot support [the] Pol Pot government, but an independent Kampuchea must exist.” Others the same day say “while the Pol Pot government has few, if any, redeeming features, the cause of human rights is not likely to be served by the continuation of fighting between the Vietnamese and the government. A negotiated settlement of [Vietnamese-Cambodian] differences might reduce the purges.” Back on July 20, there’s another cable declaring that “the US is most sympathetic to the human rights concerns that have moved the Lol Non delegation to issue a credentials challenge to the [Government of Democratic Kampuchea] delegation. However [the US’s UN delegation] should not support a credentials challenge” while another declares on December 16 that “if the Pol Pot regime was toppled, this could result in indefinite guerrilla warfare in Cambodia” basically a pro-Pol Pot sentiment.

countries that enabled the Khmer Rouge to keep the country's seat at the United Nations until the Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991"!

It is also worth pointing about that from mid-way through 1975 "[border clashes erupted between Cambodian and Vietnamese forces](#)" and it increased in 1977, with the Vietnamese proposing "negotiations to settle the border dispute, but the Khmer Rouge said negotiations would be premature" and by February 1978, Hanoi called for "for an immediate end to all hostile military activities in the border region and for the conclusion of a peace treaty," which led the "invasion" or Vietnamese entrance into Cambodia on December 25, 1978 and establishment on January 7, 1979, of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council (KPRC), "with Heng Samrin as president of the new ruling body" and the new name of Cambodia changed to the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). When the PRK "notified the United Nations Security Council that it was the sole legitimate government of the Cambodian people," recognized by Vietnam "the Soviet Union, other Marxist-Leninist states, and a number of pro-Moscow developing countries....nearly eighty countries continued to recognize the Khmer Rouge" with Thailand and the US condemning Vietnamese presence there followed by the Chinese who expressed their "support for the Khmer Rouge" while "Soviet leaders hailed the PRK's "remarkable victory" and expressed their full support for a peaceful, independent, democratic, and nonaligned Cambodia that would advance toward socialism. The Soviet revisionists had a valid point, rather than the Chinese revisionists: order was restored by the PRK after it was established. The so-called "radical polices" of the Khmer Rouge were abandoned, with more pragmatic ones begun, worship of Buddhists was allowed again, with ceremonies by mid-1980, and the country worked to rebuild the Cambodian intellectual class.⁶⁵ They also worked diligently to build up cultural

65 The following information up to the sentence with footnote 145 is a summary of selected information from the Wikipedia page titled "People's Republic of Kampuchea." As some (Keston College Staff, "[Religion in Kampuchea](#)," Chronicle, pp 169-170) wrote, "religion has revived strongly and Buddhists and Muslims have been able to re-establish an institutional life...Worship services [for Protestants] restarted in many places and a revival of church life began." Others (Sok Udom Deth, "[The People's Republic of Kampuchea 1979 – 1989: A Draconian Savior?](#)," Jun 2009, pp 9-10, 14, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35-36, 39, 46, 49, 53, 63, 82, 86) said that " The fact that millions Cambodian

life in a socialist manner while relying on propaganda and fully talking about the crimes under the Khmer Rouge openly (and in public!). Unfortunately, reconstruction was hampered, even with help from countries in Eastern Europe as the US and China refused to recognize the PRK as the legitimate government of Cambodia, border camps near the border with Thailand were hostile to the government, with a Chinese-backed insurgency fighting the PRK. Still, even though the PRK received help from the Vietnamese, Cubans, and Soviets, but was not as successful as it should have been. By 1989, all Vietnamese troops had been withdrawn, with economic and structural reforms implemented as the states in Eastern Europe fell apart, with a transition to the State of Cambodia until 1992, and then the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) took power in Cambodia, running the election in the country, with Norodom Sihanouk restored as King of Cambodia in 1993, with the country becoming a constitutional monarchy and "multiparty democracy" since then.⁶⁶ At this point, [Pol Pot got his wish](#), as he declared that “when I die, my only wish is that Cambodia remain Cambodia

people were saved from the bloody hands of the Khmer Rouge by the Vietnamese army presented an irony in Cambodian history simply because Vietnam had been considered a traditional enemy of Cambodia...The PRK enjoyed support and recognition only from Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union and other eastern bloc countries. The only non-communist country to recognize the PRK was India. China, the US, and ASEAN countries of the time, strongly opposed the new regime, branding the new government a puppet of Vietnam thanks to the presence of Vietnamese troops...For the entire following decade, the PRK did not have a seat at the United Nations, despite the fact that they were the effective government in Cambodia...the fact that Cambodian people were liberated from the rule of the Khmer Rouge by the Vietnamese army constituted a justification for the invasion based on “humanitarian” cause as well...[there was no] systematic Vietnamese mistreatment of the Khmer people...This, of course, does not mean that Vietnamese harassment did not exist, for there were occasional abuses by ill-disciplined Vietnamese troops toward civilian Khmers...My interviews with Cambodian people living under the PRK also suggest that rumors of “forced marriages” alleged by enemies of the PRK were largely unfounded...political education did not take much off their working time, and not all staff would be required to go to the workshop. Instead, staff of a particular institution would take turns going, while the rest would be left in charge...Although the Vietnamese occupation was largely a push factor for many refugees, particularly among middle-class Khmers, the fact that international aid was available on the Thai border also helped trigger the exodus of refugees seeking relief...It is not unreasonable to think that Vietnam continued to occupy Cambodia on the pretext that the Khmer Rouge would otherwise return to power...The PRK permitted aid agencies to operate so that the population could benefit. However, it is also true to state there was bureaucratic sluggishness...A look at the statistics provided by the Minister of Education of the PRK of the number of schools, teachers and students in Cambodia between 1979 and 1984 is indicative of the presence and growth of education in Cambodia after Democratic Kampuchea’s rule...Also to the PRK’s credit, the rare occurrence of crimes such as armed robbery and absence of social vice such as youth gangs in the cities, particularly in Phnom Penh, were something that urban residents appreciated...The isolation of the PRK and lack of international aid meant that life was not always easy for Cambodians.” Also see, more about the PRK [here](#) and [here](#).

66 Summarized information from the "Cambodia" and "United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia" pages on Wikipedia.

and belong to the West. It is over for communism, and I want to stress that.” Communists on reddit agree with these sentiments, saying that “Pol Pot and the KR leadership [were aligned](#) with Deng’s revisionist government in China,” say that Pol Pot was “a complete opportunist, CIA-puppet and a [terrible leader](#),” that he was “a [Utopian nutcase](#) who wanted to have a[n] even distribution of poverty in his agricultural fantasy land,” and that he was “[not a communist](#) so who cares what he did.” Others said that when “Pol Pot [was forced](#) out of power by Vietnam, and propped up with funding from the CIA,” that the “Khmer Rouge was literally [bankrolled](#) and armed by the US to fight the Vietnamese,” and that it “it wasn’t “communism” he tried to [implement](#), it was reformist, revisionist crap that set the country back about a few hundred years in progress.”



Hmong fighters in Jul 2006

Now, back to Laos. In 1980, the Laotians got a break. While thousands of “Hmong in the Phu Bia area were involved in this armed resistance,” the Chinese stopped “aid to

the Chao Fa in Thailand” meaning that this group “was forced to depend on donations from Hmong refugees living in America and other countries.”⁶⁷ At the same time, Laos became more firmly “pro-

67 Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Charles K. Armstrong, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950–1992* (US: Cornell University Press, 2013), page unknown; Library of Congress, “[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#),” Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the*

Moscow” as was Vietnam-aligned Cambodia and Vietnam but the Juche Korea favored China. The following year, the first five-year-plan was launched by the country, with many fleeing the country due to their dislike of Communism. Additionally, Vang Pao and Phoumi Nosavanh, a former general in Royal Lao Army, formed the United Lao National Liberation Front (ULNLF) in Montana, working to draw funding from “America with affiliates among Lao refugees living in France and Australia” showing that the US imperialists were supporting/giving harbor to these terrorists. Later on, a new Constitution was adopted, expanding the role of the President, which Kaystone Phomvihan would hold in 1991. The following year, 1982, members of the ULNLF “travelled to different countries with Lao émigré communities to promote their organisation” and were able to increase their “membership and financial donations greatly between 1982 to 1992,” and with “the covert assistance of the Thai border military, Vang Pao's ULNLF had penetrated deep inside Laos by 1984” but this, luckily for the region, and for the Laotians was not a success.⁶⁸

In the years that followed, the Laotians hung on. Souvanna, in 1984 was given a “full state funeral.” The following year, Laotian leaders sent greetings on an anniversary of Juche Korea.⁶⁹ Around the same time, by the mid-1980s, over 50% of workforce in Laos was employed in “primary industries.” In 1986 there would be a major change in Laos.

That year, in January, the second five-year plan began.⁷⁰ But that was not the big change. It would come in November, and not the holding of the Fourth LPRP Congress held or Kaysone Phomvihan elected as general secretary of LPRP. It would be the introduction of “far-reaching economic reforms” since their plans to implement socialism in Laos were not planned and executed as

Americas (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 41.

68 Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

69 Footprint Travel Guides, “Laos under Communism,” Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Daily Report: Asia & Pacific, Issues 159-169, The Service, 1985, p 31; *DK World History Atlas: Mapping the Human Journey, Fully Revised and Updated*, ed. Jeremy Black (London: Doring Kindersley, 2005, 2nd edition), p 275.

70 Library of Congress, “[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#),” Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

well as they should have been perhaps due to copying what was done in Vietnam over to Laos and/or due to the destruction of the country which still remained in the form of UXOs, which were called the New Economic Mechanism (NEM).⁷¹ This economic liberalization, [announced at the Party Congress](#) that year, was not followed by the traitorous “glasnost” (removing necessary restrictions on society through so-called openness in regard to government) and “perestroika” (restructuring of the Soviet economic & political system) in the Soviet Union, but followed the lead of the Chinese revisionists, by opening up “the economy up to market forces, and the country to foreign aid and investment from the West, while retaining a tight monopoly on political power.” The Laotians called it *chintanakan mai* or “new imagination” with NEM central to this, moving the “economy away from central planning and towards limited free enterprise, at the same time opening the doors to foreign investment” but later led the country to become dependent on international donors. This led the U\$ State Department to frankly remark in 2016 that “though still under one-party communist rule, Laos' economy is now essentially a free market system building upon the 1986 introduction of economic reforms.”

The following years, 1987 and 1988, connections between the Laotians and Juche Korea were further cemented. In January of the first mentioned year, the Koreans [sent greetings](#) to the Laotian Defense Minister on the anniversary of 38th anniversary of founding of Laotian army, while Koreans went to Laos itself. The same month, the foreign minister of Juche Korea [joined](#) Soviet, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, and Mongolian counterparts in Moscow. Later that year, in September, a delegation led by the Korean Deputy Foreign Minister, Kim Hyong-yul, [headed to Laos](#), meeting with his Laotian counterpart. In the year after this, China continued to help, in a sense, the Hmong in Laos, with Vang Pao visiting China in 1988 and Vice-President of the Democratic Chao Fa Party of Laos,

71 Footprint Travel Guides, "Laos under Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "Modern Laos," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; U\$ State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

Nhia Long Moua, visiting in 2004.⁷² The same year, the first elections of the country, since 1975, were held at the district level in June and the provincial level in November.



Image honoring Laos-LPRP connection, rescued from "Victims of Communism."

In 1989, the Laotians further moved toward the world market and away from their socialist roots, sadly for the Laotian people. That year, the country opened to foreign tourism “for the first time since 1975” and there was a move “towards a market economy.”⁷³ In March, elections were held for the Supreme People's Assembly which has been established in December 1975 as the Supreme People's Council after the bicameral Parliament had been dissolved in January 1972. With national elections, which were proceeded by polling “at the district and provincial levels in June and November 1988,” [they were justified](#) in an effort to “stimulate the economy and to expand "socialist democracy".” Two-thirds of the 121 candidates for the 79 seats in the assembly were said to be members of the Lao

72 Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

73 "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; "Laos Brief History: Laos Information," Asia Web Direct, accessed Feb 3, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "Laos under Communism," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP). After the results came in, the LPRP emerged with 65 seats, and it was announced that a “new Constitution would be promulgated within one year and that a new government would thereafter be formed.” The new assembly would hold its “inaugural session from 30 May to 2 June 1989.” Also that year, the last Vietnamese troops reportedly left Laos, and Kaysone Phomvihane said in Paris that the U\$-backed King has “died of malaria in 1984 and that the queen had...died of natural causes.”

The 1990s was a hard time for the Laotians, the Cubans, Koreans, and others trying to build new societies, even as some of these were revisionist (i.e. the Laotians). In 1990, the “Green Revolution” came to Laos, which would, over the next fourteen year, lead to millions of tons more in rice production, making, as International Rice Research Institute, backed by big agribusiness, remarked “the small underdeveloped nation one of Asia's star performers in rice research and development,” even though this was at the cost of accepting market measures and not socialist ones.⁷⁴ The following year, in December, the Soviet Union came to its final demise as a result of revisionism, and fully accepting Western dictates under Gorbachev, leading countries such as Cuba, Vietnam, and Laos to “court Western trade and aid,” as they could not get Soviet aid anymore, and led these countries to introduce “market reforms [and] private enterprise,” the latter manifested by private property in China. As a result, Japan and the U\$ assumed the same role as Soviet aid in Laos, and Vietnamese troops were withdrawn, as the country began “opening up to the world” (i.e. opening up to the world market) but remained “poor and heavily dependent on foreign aid” as a result. As Laos looked to “improve relations with other countries” after the Soviet demise, there was a positive: Hmong soldiers in Thailand were

74 International Rice Research Institute, “The Green Revolution comes to Laos,” *EurekAlert!*, Mar 15, 2006; Paul Marshall, Lela Gilbert, and Nina Shea (anti-communist/evangelical authors), *Persecuted: The Global Assault on Christians* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2013), pp 24; David E. Lowes, *The Anti-Capitalist Dictionary: Movements, Histories, and Motivations* (US: Zed Books, 2006), p 46; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 41-42; “Laos country profile,” *BBC News*, Jan 9, 2018; U\$ State Department, “U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS,” Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, “[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#),” Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

chased into Laos by Thai troops, leading these horrid royalists to be defeated, a new constitution was adopted, Kaysone Phomvihane became president and Khamtai Siphandon prime minister.

In 1992, a number of important events effected Laos. For one, the three “Hmong refugee camps...were closed, and more than 20,000 of their residents repatriated...to Laos where they were assisted to re-integrate into the local communities,” and secondly, the U\$ restored full diplomatic relations.⁷⁵ The same year, Kim Il Sung, in April, met with Kaysone Phomvihane [which was honored 25 years later](#) in April 2017 at a “friendly gathering...held at the Taedonggang Diplomatic Club on Wednesday under the co-sponsorship of the Korean Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the DPRK-Laos Friendship Association and the Lao embassy. In November 1992, President Kaysone Phomvihane, aged 71, died, and was replaced as president by Nouhak Phomsavan. The next month there were elections to the National Assembly, which has been renamed from Supreme People's Assembly. In the lead up to this election, in August of the previous year, a document was approved which “increased the power of parliament and cemented market-oriented economic changes.” For this election, [there were 154 candidates](#), 16 of whom were women, 34 “nominated by state institutions at the central level and 120 by different state and public services at the local level” all for the 85 seats at stake, with four of them running as independents while the rest were part of the “umbrella Lao Front for National Reconstruction.” During the campaign, issues for candidates focused mainly on “the country’s social and economic development...promoted significantly by ex-President of the Republic Kaysone Phomvihane.” By January of the next year, the final election results were compiled, “because many ballots had to be brought in from remote villages” and the new assembly “held its first meeting on 20 February” and two days later, “incumbent President of the Republic Nouhak Phoumsavan and

⁷⁵ Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; U\$ State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Footprint Travel Guides, "Modern Laos," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

Prime Minister Khamtay Siphandon were confirmed in their posts, and the appointment of a new Council of Ministers was approved."

In 1993 and 1994, the Laotians continued down what you could call the capitalist road. In the first mentioned year, Laotians had a goodwill visit to Juche Korea, the same year that refugee camps for the Hmong closed "in Thailand" leading the Hmong reactionaries to be "on their own."⁷⁶ Also that year, the new elected government came to power in Laos. The following year, the Thai government finally began working with the Laotians, as they began a "crackdown" on the Hmong, and the Laotians tried "various development projects, chiefly in the "Saisomboun Special Zone"" in order to "attract resistance Hmong into the folds of the Lao PDR authorities, by withdrawing lowland ethnic Lao personnel from the area." Additionally, another bilateral Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation as signed between Laos and Vietnam, and former "acting president and high-ranking party figure," Phoumi Vongvichit, died in January of the same year.



Laos-Juche Korea flag pin

In the two years the followed, 1995 and 1996, Laos went toward capitalism more and more, but Juche Korea kept up its friendship. In the first mentioned year, 150 statues, which had been produced by Juche Korea, were installed in Laos, some of which were officially donated.⁷⁷ The same year, in July, the Hmong reactionaries staged "a minor coup against government military installations near Luang Prabang, the former royal

capital" but again were not successful. The year after that, Laos, like China, introduced new economic

⁷⁶ *North Korea Quarterly*, Volumes 68-71, Institute of Asian Affairs, 1993, p 74; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Library of Congress, "[Table A. Chronology of Important Events](#)," Country Studies, Jul 1994, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

⁷⁷ Anti-communist Grant Evans, *The Politics of Ritual and Remembrance: Laos Since 1975* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), pp 34-35; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Peter Ferdinand, *Governance in Pacific Asia: Political Economy and Development from Japan to Burma* (USA: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), p 179.

mechanisms in an attempt to restore “legitimacy of all market mechanisms, including capitalist ones.” Additionally, the Thai and Lao governments established a Thai-Lao Border Commission in August 1996 with “resistance support networks in Thai refugee camps were quickly dismantled and their members dispersed.”

1997 was another landmark year showing the direction Laos was heading. It joined, “hands with its neighbors,” becoming a member of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) in July of that year.⁷⁸ By the end of the year, the Hmong reactionaries has suffered “many setbacks” even though “casualties on the government side” were also “heavy,” showing the perilous fight ahead. At the end of the year, there were general elections in the country. [159 candidates vied for the 99 seats of the National Assembly](#), most of whom were members of the LPRP, except for four, with most candidates emphasizing the need for “more political reform.” After the election, the LPRP maintained its “dominance of Parliament” and in February of the next year, 1998, “new President of the Republic to replace Mr. Nouhak Phoumsavanh was...chosen by the National Assembly” and a “new Prime Minister” was also selected.

Zbigniew Brzezinski declared that that it was absurd to say that “the Carter Administration “helped arrange continued Chinese aid” to Pol Pot” since the “Chinese were aiding Pol Pot, but without any help or arrangement from the United States,” claiming that the U\$ told “the Chinese explicitly that in our view Pol Pot was an abomination and that the United States would have nothing to do with him -- directly or indirectly,” working to deny culpability on behalf of the U\$ imperialists.⁷⁹ Even so, the following years (1998 and 1999) were positive for the Laotians. For one, the Hmong resistance seemed desperate, with calls for “Gen. Vang Pao to return to the jungles of Laos and help...with the resistance” (reactionary forces), and the Thai government lobbied the U\$, by 2003, after the Hmong refugees were

78 Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Laos Brief History: Laos Information," Asia Web Direct, accessed Feb 3, 2018.

79 Zbigniew Brzezinski, *New York Times*, Apr 17, 1998, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018.

seen as a problem in Thailand, to accept “15,000 residents for resettlement in September 2003.” On May 26, 2005, the “unofficial refugee camp in Thailand was officially closed” which marked an end to “Hmong support” for the reactionaries fighting the Laotian government, a victory not only for the Laotians but also for the people of the whole region.

In 2000, the Laotian actions in the past were honored. A memorial museum honoring Kaysone



Phomvihane [was built with financial assistance from Vietnam](#), consisting of two stories, an “upper storey [which] comprises a central statue hall, surrounded by exhibition rooms with dioramas and displays which trace the great man’s life and career in the

Photo of Laotian presidents displayed in Juche Korea, [September 2011](#).

context of the Lao

revolutionary history...[and] the lower level [which] contains meeting rooms and other facilities for visiting cadres and school/community groups.” The same year, Vietnamese troops were reportedly permitted to “cross the Mekong river into Sayabouri province near the Thai-Lao border...to help fight drug trafficking” which if true, would be good.⁸⁰ After all, the “resistance” groups, or Hmong reactionaries, likely got some money from such a trade as they continued to oppose the existing government in Laos. At the same time, the government began decentralizing even more with more autonomy and budgetary responsibility given to the provinces themselves. The same year, in June, the

⁸⁰ Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; “Lao People’s Democratic Republic History Timeline,” worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

Vietnamese Communist Party chief, Le Kha Phieu, told a visiting Laotian army delegation that he wanted the two countries' armies "to cooperate in the struggle against hostile forces." In July, Laotians "made high level friendship visits to China when Hmong...activities in Laos increased" including one by the Laotian President "to Beijing on 14 July 2000 at the invitation of the former Chinese President Jiang Zemin," another in a long-line of Chinese revisionists who continued horrid Dengist policies.

In a few pages in the *21st Century Atlas* published that year, Laos was described as having a population with "notable ethnic complexity" with cities concentrated in the Mekong Valley, the major religion in the country being is Buddhism.⁸¹ It was also noted that the production of corn, rice, coffee, sweet potatoes, opium, teak wood, and lacquer is "predominant in the country's economy" coupled with a limited industry in Laos which is focused on extraction of minerals such as tin, zinc and coal, along with rice mills and saw mills. With such low production domestically, "Laos depends on the economic aid of other countries" as the book remarked. The book also noted that much of Laos's land, perhaps half, is covered by forest (58%), a substantial part is covered by plantation farming (mainly along the Western borders facing Thailand) while subsistence farming in mainly in the north of the country, with the same being the case for croplands (4%), with meadows and pastures being 4%. It also noted that unemployment that year was reportedly 21% and the per capita income was \$259.24 a person. This means that the country is pretty poor still. This can be partially blamed on the inequalities caused by the market measures adopted by the Laotians but is also due to continued UXO presence across much and the geographic elements of the country itself: 58% covered by forest.

In the following years, Laos continued to integrate itself more into the global capitalist economy. In 2001, the IMF approved a loan to Laos "for \$40 million to help strengthen economic stability, reduce poverty."⁸² The following year, 2002, with armed factions of Hmong trying to

81 *The 21st Century Atlas* (Naples FL, Trident Press International, 2000), pp 516, 517.

82 "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Donald F. Busky, *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas* (US: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), p 42.

overthrow the government, the Chinese revisionist leader, Hu Jintao, [was sent “congratulatory messages,”](#) on his election as “general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC),” from the leaders of Juche Korea, Vietnam, and Laos. Khamtay Siphandone, president of the Central Committee of Lao People's Revolutionary Party, said in his message “that the Chinese people would achieve all objectives set by the 16th National Congress of the CPC and build China into a socialist modernized country in the 21st century under the new leadership, so as to contribute more to the peace, stability, cooperation and growth of the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world.” The same year, in February, elections were held “for all seats in Parliament one year before the normal expiry of the member's term of office.” [166 candidates, including 34 women, vied](#) for “the enlarged National Assembly's 109 seats (raised from 99),” with 165 of them being members of the LPRP. Not only were “more women were included on the ballot as well as more candidates with post-graduate degrees” but the average age of the candidates was “51, some 10 years younger than in the previous election.” Most of the country’s “eligible voters were reported to have taken part in the elections” and the election, as a result, “brought 62 new faces into the new Assembly, including 25 women.” After the new assembly was inaugurated, “newly elected deputies voted to keep President Khamtay Siphandone and the Prime Minister in place and also approved the President's proposed list of Cabinet members for a tenure lasting until 2006.”

In 2003, the horrors of the US bombing of Laos came back. That year, the ambassador of Laos in Pyongyang was Khamkeng Saykeo as reported by one publication and the Hmong’s “resistance” was more and more pathetic, with possible ties to drug trafficking in millions of dollars.⁸³ One bourgeois newspaper, *USA Today*, reported that every month “two or three Laotians are killed...and another six or seven are maimed by unexploded ordnance, called UXO, left over from the war” with UXOs mainly

83 *The Far East and Australasia* 2003, 34th Edition (London: Europa Publications, Taylor & Francis, 2002), p 682; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Paul Wiseman, "30-year-old bombs still very deadly in Laos," *USA Today*, Dec 11, 2003.

coming in the form of cluster bombs, known in Laos as "bombies." These newspapers noted that since the bombing ended in 1973, "5,700 Laotians have been killed and 5,600 injured by UXO" which is even worse because "a high percentage — experts estimate up to 30%...of bomblets don't go off" which are "hidden under bushes or buried in the ground" meaning they can detonate at any time or stay dormant, with residents in some areas putting "war remnants to ingenious use." Even so, they can still be lethal, with the "Laotian government's bomb cleanup agency, UXO Lao, is trying to teach kids to stay away from unexploded ordnance, no matter how colorful," even UXO Lao staffers leading "elementary and middle school children in songs about the dangers of unexploded ordnance and put on a puppet show about a little boy who loses an eye in a bombie explosion." With the fact that Laos is relatively poor, "economics also drive Laotians, young and old, toward reckless behavior" with the recycling of "old ordnance" becoming "a big business in Laos" with many "scrap metal dealers...from neighboring Vietnam, offer 2,000 kip (about 20 cents) per bombie and sometimes lend scavengers metal detectors to scour the forests for unexploded ordnance. Further, UXO inhibits "development in rural areas" making it "difficult to cultivate new land because you don't know what it contains," while the U\$ grumbles about "reforms" needed in the "way the...Laotian government runs the cleanup program" instead of giving more money! In the same article, it was noted that Laos has a population of 5.5 million, a life expectancy of about 55 years, a population which is about 34% who were illiterate, a per capita income of \$310, a high mortality rate, and low number of people with mobile phones, which doesn't look good at all!

In the years that followed, there were positive signs for Laos, even as it was evidently dedicated to the capitalist road, sadly. From 2004 to 2013, there was a joint mining company of Juche Korea and Laotians in Laos which was mining tin.⁸⁴ While some said that by 2004, the “Hmong insurgency had all but collapsed” others said it continued into 2005, when “a group of 171 people...emerged from the forest and put themselves in the hands of a government police officer in the Saisomboun Special Zone, north of Vientiane province,” with the UN chief Kofi Annan siding against the Laotians (showing his imperialist nature), while the support base “of the Chao Fa in Thailand.. appears to have been decimated” even though it has “die-hard followers,” with the U\$ continuing to harbor Hmong terrorists working to stir trouble in Laos. At the same time, in 2005, the Chinese revisionists worked to “promote



Laotians in 2006, courtesy of Flickr.

trade cooperation with Laos,” the Vietnamese worked to increase border cooperation, the FBI arrested “General Vang Pao...in California...on charges of buying weapons and plotting “the violent overthrow” of the Lao government in violation of the American

84 Scott A. Jones, "Current and Future Challenges for Asian Nonproliferation Export Controls: A Regional Response," Oct 2004, p 35; Geological Survey of Interior Department, [Minerals Yearbook - Area Reports: International Review: 2011, Asia and Pacific](#), Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2013), p 13-29; US Department of the Interior, [Minerals Yearbook: Area Reports: International 2007: Asia and the Pacific](#), (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2010), pp 162, 16.5; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Gary Yia Lee, "The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?," 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; "Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline," worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; U\$ State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

Neutrality Act” and the “Hmong rebellion” came to its “lowest point,” a positive for Laos! The same year, the US established formal trade relations with Laos, with the two countries signing a civil aviation agreement, and a bilateral trade agreement. Additionally, the World Bank approved financing “for the \$1.2 billion Nam Theun Two Dam” which will be built by Laos.

Then we get to 2006. As some “defectors” from Juche Korea “travelled through China, Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand,” as one told *Business Insider*, Laos [again held elections](#). Parliamentary elections were held on April 30 for the National Assembly, with the LPRP winning in a landslide. The candidates numbered 175, including 40 women, contesting “115 seats in an enlarged National Assembly” with all but two of these candidates “members of the LPRP.” Even with the “heavy rain in the capital city Vientiane turnout remained high” and the “LPRP swept 113 of the 115 seats at stake [while] the number of women elected increased from 25 to 29.”

Move forward to 2008. That year, in January, many of the Hmong reactionaries decided to “join the new Lao government after more than 30 years of fiercely refusing to be part of it,” with “Hmong district and provincial governors, Hmong deputies in the National Assembly and even two Hmong Ministers.”⁸⁵ Additionally, many Hmong were part of “middle management in the Lao public service, more than under the old right-wing Royal Lao Government”! Despite the revisionism in Laos, this can be considered a victory. In another story of a “defector” who fled from Juche Korea in 2008, she became a prostitute, making it to “Vientiane, the Laotian capital” and did not, as the article mentioned, “exaggerate their stories to make them more sensational, [but] they appeared to play down their experiences, apparently out of shame” showing that they regret leaving! This is an important point to bring up with anyone who cites the stories of defectors to learn about the “truth” in Juche Korea, as they can’t really be trusted with the truth whatsoever. At the end of the year there was another article

85 Gary Yia Lee, “The Hmong Rebellion in Laos: Victims of Totalitarianism or terrorists?,” 2005, updated 2008, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Anna Fifield, “She fled North Korea and turned to online sex work. Then she escaped again,” *The Independent*, Oct 19, 2016.

about UXOs in Laos.⁸⁶ This article said that “at least 13,000 people have been killed or maimed [since 1973], either digging in fields contaminated with live bombs or, increasingly, in their quest for lucrative scrap metal” with half of those killed being “young boys, most killed by exploding tennis-ball-sized cluster bomblets - christened "bombies" locally - that are everywhere.” It was also said that “overwhelmed by the immensity of the clear-up, Laos - which has dealt with just 400,000 unexploded munitions - had resisted the signing today in Oslo of a treaty banning cluster bombs and demanding that remnants be cleared within 10 years” but, that year, rethought this, and signed the treaty. For Laos, they felt this could be “a godsend, focusing world attention on its plight and bringing international resources to tackle the problem” since at that time “37% of agricultural ground made unsafe by unexploded munitions in a nation where four-fifths of people farm the land,” meaning that this “scourge has stifled development.”

We then come to 2009. While defectors from Juche Korea continuing to go along an “arduous trek on foot over mountains into Laos, cutting through jungle to the Mekong River,” putting them in Thailand where these Koreans can apply for asylum, there were other developments for Laos.⁸⁷ The 35th anniversary of ties between Juche Korea and Laos was celebrated, with the Koreans saying that their relations are one of “independence, building of socialism, and keeping imperialism at bay.” The same year, the nation’s first railway line opened, with huge Chinese investment pouring into the country. At the same time, the *New York Times* had a feature article on Laos. As they described it, while Laos is officially “still communist — and has been since 1975” the reality is that this depends on who you ask. They noted that earlier that year, “the Obama administration declared that Laos...had “ceased to be a Marxist-Leninist country,” which followed similar announcements “in past decades for China and

86 Ian MacKinnon, "Forty years on, Laos reaps bitter harvest of the secret war," *The Guardian*, Dec 2, 2008.

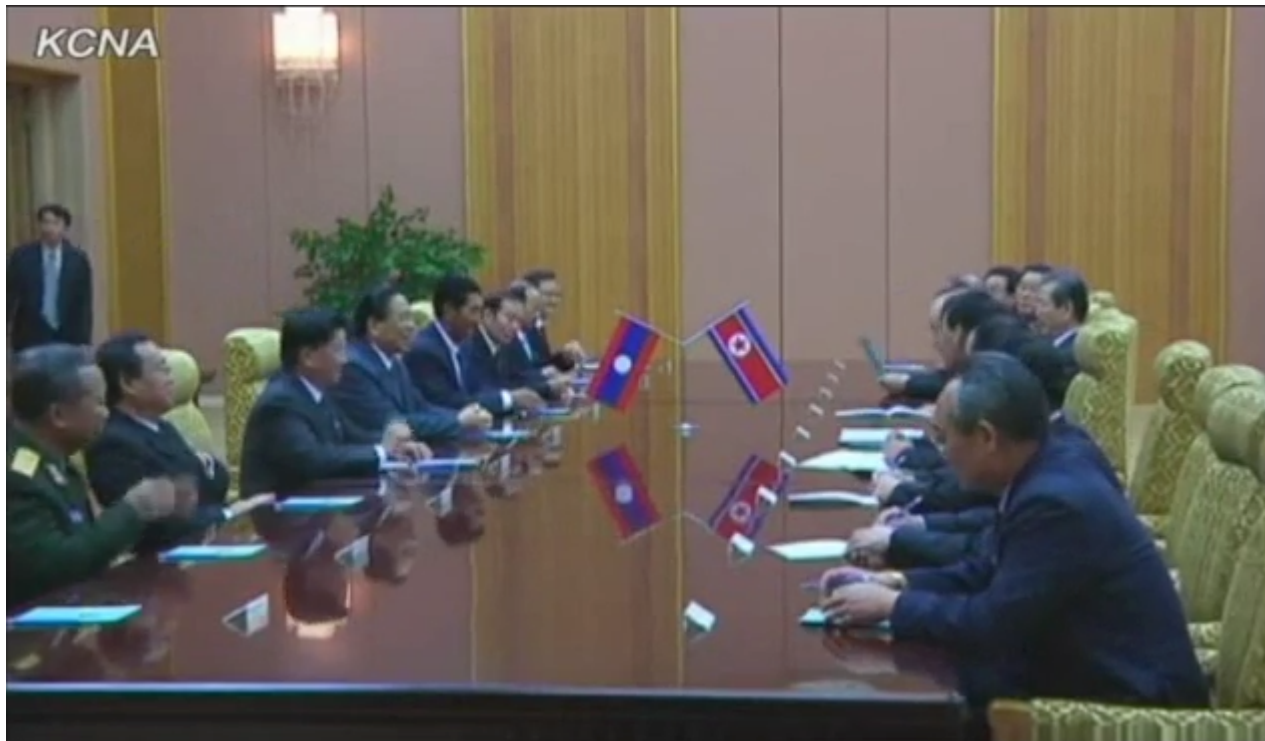
87 Tom O'Neill, "Escaping from North Korea," *National Geographic*, Feb 2009; Virginie Grzelczyk, *North Korea's New Diplomacy: Challenging Political Isolation in the 21st Century* (New York: Springer, 2017), pp 94, 103; Footprint Travel Guides, "Modern Laos," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Thomas Fuller, "Communism and Capitalism Are Mixing in Laos," *New York Times*, Sept 15, 2009.

Vietnam,” with this declaration lifting a “ban on Laotian companies from getting financing from the U.S. Export-Import Bank.” The *Times* then remarked that “capitalism is making inroads in Laos, but mastering the ideology might require some re-education,” almost mocking the idea of re-education advocated by communists, adding that the following year, the “country is scheduled to open its first stock exchange next year, a plan that prompted a local newspaper to run a series of articles offering a glossary of capitalist terms.” They also talked about the contradictions in Laos, with President Choummaly Sayasone saying that “Marxist-Leninist theory is practical and is suitable for the current situation in Laos,” but some of the “government offices are enthusiastically entrepreneurial” with Laos becoming “divided between the rising incomes of Vientiane and a handful of other towns and the poverty of the countryside” with the *Times* declaring that “Laos is also too poor overall to be a textbook communist government capable of providing for all of its people.” The article went onto quote Ravic Huso, then the U\$ ambassador to Laos, saying that “the decision to change Laos’s Marxist-Leninist status was not a comment on the country’s political system” but was a “reference to the U.S. Export-Import Bank’s definition of Marxist economies” with the definition reading as “[a] ‘Marxist-Leninist country’ means any country that maintains a centrally planned economy based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, or is economically and militarily dependent on any other such country.” Huso also noted that “Cambodia was removed from the list at the same time” and that “only North Korea and Cuba remain” on the list.

In 2010, Laos was slowly moving along. As the [ILO reported](#), the unemployment rate in 2010 was less than 1% and employment-to-population ratio was almost 78% which is relatively positive. However, an ASEAN Free Trade Agreement “set to open up trade throughout the region in 2010” was put in place, with Laos “subject to this in 2015,” and the Nam Theun II dam started working, as Laos aimed to start being a member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) since “the challenges facing

Laos are some of the greatest in its history.”⁸⁸ This is because, as bourgeois analysts describe it, “reforms and new political will are thus both necessary for the country to prosper” with the country “Marxist-Leninist in nothing but name” with the need for “care...to maintain social cohesion.” The same year, [in August, senior officials of Juche Korea and Laos said](#) that they “would continue their friendship and cooperation,” with the Korean Vice-Premier Ro Tu Chol, at a reception for “Somsavath Lengsavath, standing vice-prime minister of Laos,” hailed the existing “traditional and comradely relations of friendship and cooperation” between both of them. He also, as KCNA reported, expressed “sincere hope that the Lao people would build a more prosperous socialist state” with the Laotians, when coming to Pyongyang saying that the “party and the government of Laos support the DPRK to build a thriving nation and achieve the independent reunification of the country, he said.” One month later a new report was published by UXO Lao and the Lao National Regulatory Authority (NRA) saying that “an estimated 20,000 people had died from UXOs since the conflict ended after the communist takeover in 1975” with other research saying that “the US government, corporations and private foundations have given over \$39.5 million for UXO clean-up since 1993 - a trifling sum compared with the billions it has allocated for its new generation of wars.” It was also noted that “Laos has not collected comprehensive data on the effects of Agent Orange and other chemical defoliants on its southern territories, but the recent \$300 million deal Vietnamese stakeholders reached with the US panel could change that” and that at the “current rate of clean-up, UXO Laos/NRA estimates it will take 3,000 years to completely clear the country of all the explosive remnants left behind from US bombers” which means “thousands of potential new UXO injuries and deaths in the years ahead, particularly in the southern province of Savannakhet and in the northern province of Xieng Khuoang, where US bombing was particularly heavy”!

88 X Footprint Travel Guides, "Modern Laos," Footprint Handbooks, accessed Mar 2, 2018; Lonely Planet, "History" of Laos, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Melody Kemp, "New case for US reparations in Laos," *Asia Times*, Sept 4, 2010.



Meeting of Laotian and DPRK representatives [in September 2011 in Pyongyang](#).

In 2011, the capitalist road was clearly strong in Laos. With the president of Laos [visiting Juche Korea](#), and the two countries signed a defense agreement, the country also, as the *New York Times* said the previous year, opened its “first stock exchange,” following the Chinese model, a worrying sign.⁸⁹ The same year, *The Independent* grumbled about a dam that Laos was building which would “impact on one of Asia's most important rivers” citing bourgeois environmentalists and supposed “villagers” as opposing it, while the Mekong River Commission (MRC), “an intergovernmental body comprising Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand” gave a warning. Still, the MRC admitted that “the body would not be able to prevent Laos from pushing ahead with the project” with the Laotians saying that they need “the foreign exchange it would earn for investment in social programmes.” This echoed the [agreement in September 1987](#) when Sierra Leone and Juche Korea agreed to work on a hydroelectric

89 “Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline,” [worldatlas.com](#), accessed Mar 3, 2018; Virginie Grzelczyk, *North Korea's New Diplomacy: Challenging Political Isolation in the 21st Century* (New York: Springer, 2017), pp 84, 85; Andrew Buncombe, “Mekong ecology in the balance as Laos quietly begins work on dam,” *The Independent*, Apr 19, 2011.

and irrigation project, the first joint project since two countries established relations in 1971! That year there were elections in the country. [There were 132 seats in the National Assembly, up from 115](#), and Pany Yathotou, was, at the time “the first female Speaker in Laos since 1975.” It was also reported that the Laotian government was working to gradually liberalize “the economy in an attempt to help the country graduate from the category of least developed countries (LDCs) by 2020” and that the party congress “adopted a series of policies to be implemented by 2015, which aim at political stability and sound economic development” including a plan to “reduce the number of poverty-stricken households to below 10 per cent of the population and promote enhanced regional and international integration.” During the election, “190 candidates were nominated...47 central government staff and 143 local officials. [4 who]...work for State-owned enterprises...five are entrepreneurs of private enterprises” and 45 who were “members of the outgoing legislature.” While most of these candidates were LPRP members, there were “five independent candidates were also vying for seats,” with 50% of those who were elected “representatives of minorities [and] in all, 33 women were elected.”

The same year, [a new Constitution](#) (the current one) was passed by the Assembly (link here). In the preamble it noted that over the past 60 years, “under the correct leadership of the former Indochinese Communist Party and the present Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the multi-ethnic Lao people have carried out difficult and arduous struggles full of great sacrifices,” liberating the country and establishing “the Lao People's Democratic Republic on 2 December 1975; thus opening a new era – an era of genuine independence for the country and freedom for the people.” The preamble added at the current time, “social life requires that the state must have a Constitution...[which] recognises the great achievements gained by our people in the cause of struggles for national liberation and construction and defines the political regime, the socio-economic system, the rights and obligations of citizens and the system of organisation of state apparatuses in the new period.” Sadly the articles to follow showed the clear revisionism. Laos was defined as “an independent country with sovereignty

and territorial integrity covering both territorial waters and airspace” (Article 1), “a People's Democratic State” with “workers, farmers and intellectuals as key components” but not the rulers (Article 2), and the National Assembly and all other state organisations established and function “in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism” (Article 5). In a number of other broad statements it said that the state “protects the freedom and democratic rights of the people which cannot be violated by anyone” (Article 6), the state “pursues the policy of promoting unity and equality among all ethnic groups”(Article 8), and that “the state implements the policy of national defence and security with the participation of all people in all aspects” (Article 11). These could seem to be standard, as much as article 12 which says that Laos “pursues the foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and cooperation; and promotes the relations and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence” (Article 12), the latter which eerily sounds like Khrushchev. Such revisionism is further clear in Article 13, saying that “the economic system of the Lao People's Democratic Republic relies on the multi-sectoral economy with the objective of expanding production and broadening the circulation of goods” or article 14: “the state protects and expands all forms of state, collective and individual ownership, as well as private ownership of domestic capitalists and foreigners who make investments in the Lao People's Democratic Republic.” It is also clear in Article 15, saying that “the state protects the right to ownership (rights to governing, rights to using to transferring) and the rights to inherit property of organisations and individuals,” article 16 saying that “the economic management is carried out in line with the mechanism of market economy with the adjustment by the state, implementing the principle of promoting the centralised, unified management of the central branches,” and article 18, perhaps to an extent, saying that “the state promotes and gives advice on the development of economic relations, under many forms, with foreign countries on the basis of the principle of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, equality, and mutual benefits.” There are a number of other articles. Article 20 says that “the state pays attention to

expanding the public health service” but it also “allows private individuals to operate medical services in accordance with state regulations”! while Article 21 says that “Lao citizens are the persons who hold Lao nationality as prescribed by law,” and Article 23 says that “Lao citizens 18 years of age and over have the right to vote and the right to be elected at the age of 21 and over except insane persons and the persons whose rights to vote and to be elected have been revoked by a court.” Then there’s Article 36 saying that “Lao citizens have the obligations to defend the country, to maintain the people's security and to fulfill military obligations as prescribed by law,” Article 38 saying that Laos “grants asylum to foreigners who are persecuted for their struggle for freedom, justice, peace and scientific causes’ and Article 39 saying that the “National Assembly is the legislative organisation. It has the right to make decisions on the fundamental issues of the country....it is the organisation which supervises and oversees the activities of the administrative and judicial organisations.” Other related articles are article 41, setting the term of office for the National Assembly at five years, article 52, saying that the President is the head of state and “the representative of the multi-ethnic Lao people both at home and abroad,” and article 54 saying that the President is elected “by the National Assembly with two-thirds of the votes of all members of the National Assembly attending the session” and has a term of five years. Then, there’s article 56 saying that the government is the administrative organisation of the state” with the latter consisting of, as defined in Article 58, as “the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers, ministers and chairmen of the ministry- equivalent committees” with a five year term, and that in Laos, “there are provinces, municipalities, districts and villages” (Article 62). Finally there are three more articles worth mentioning: article 65 which defines People's Courts as “the judiciary organisations of the state comprising the People's Supreme Court, People's Provincial and Municipal Courts, People's District Courts and Military Courts,” Article 72 saying that “Public Prosecution Institutes consist of the Public Prosecutor-General Institute, the Public Prosecution Institutes of provinces, municipalities, and districts, and the military prosecution institutes” and Article 75 saying that “the Lao language and Lao

script are the language and script officially used.” Make what you will about this constitution but it seems strongly revisionist to me.

The following year, Laos further integrated into the global capitalist economy. With the country reportedly “awaiting” industrialization, it won approval to join the WTO.⁹⁰ In July of the same year, Killary visited Laos, “marking the first visit by a Secretary of State since 1955.” The following month, Laos and Juche Korea signed “a number of bilateral cooperation documents” including a “cultural exchange plan for the 2012-2015 period, a cooperation agreement on information technology data, a memorandum of understanding on cooperation in education, and a cooperation agreement between the Lao Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the DPRK Chamber of Industry.” Later that month, Kim Yong Nam, president of the Presidium of the Supreme People’s Assembly of Juche Korea [met and had a talk](#) with Thongsing Thammavong, prime minister of Laos. Only a month earlier, after the “Cambodian foreign minister Hor Namhong [had] [visited North Korea](#) to discuss security issues and bolster bilateral ties,” the Laotian and Vietnamese government officials visited Pyongyang while the Juche Koreans participated in the “ASEAN Regional Forum and engage in side meetings mostly focused on trade and investment. In November of the same year, a delegation of the Laos-DPRK (North Korea) Friendship Association “headed by Tong Yeu Tho, a member of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party,” visited the “statues of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il on Mansu Hill in Pyongyang” and Kim Yong-nam met with them at Mansudae Assembly Hall. The same month, a “formal ceremony marking the start of full construction at Xayaburi” was held, with Laos’s “strategy for development is based on generating electricity from its rivers and selling the power to its neighbours,” with the dam “built by a Thai company with Thai money - and almost all of the electricity

90 Peter Ferdinand, *Governance in Pacific Asia: Political Economy and Development from Japan to Burma* (USA: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), p 149; “Lao People's Democratic Republic History Timeline,” worldatlas.com, accessed Mar 3, 2018; U\$ State Department, “U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS,” Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018; “Laos, DPRK sign cooperation documents,” *VietnamPlus*, Aug 8, 2012; “NORTH KOREA NEWSLETTER NO. 235 (Nov. 8, 2012),” *Yonhap News*, Nov 8, 2012; “Laos approves Xayaburi 'mega' dam on Mekong,” *BBC News*, Nov 6, 2012.

has been pre-sold to Thailand,” and while the US State Department was concerned, this was ignored, with commercial operation of the Xayaburi Dam aimed to start in 2019, with modifications in the dam design to take into the account of other neighboring countries.

We then move onto 2013. A number of anti-communist and evangelical authors declared that year that China was "global economic powerhouse" and that "Vietnam, Laos and Cuba remain...slower to enter global markets but...are reaching out for investment, trade, and tourism,” while adding that there are “remnants of communism” in Cuba, China, Juche Korea, Laos, and Vietnam.⁹¹ Others said that “the country that adheres most strictly to communist principles...is North Korea” according to a bourgeois scholar, while others noted that Laos has “been a member of the World Trade Organization since February 2013” and that by 2013, “[less than 1% of these munitions](#) [dropped by the US] have been destroyed. More than half of all confirmed cluster munitions casualties in the world have occurred in Laos itself! It was this year that the haters of Juche Korea were shocked when nine defectors, two young women and seven young men, were repatriated from Laos to Juche Korea, showing it not a “safe country” for such deluded people who are defectors. They did this because, as Khantivong Somlith of the Laotian Embassy in Seoul, the “nine defectors were apprehended by the police because they entered the country without documentation. The police then turned them over to the North Korean embassy because they are all North Korean citizens.” That seem perfectly logical, but of course the bourgeois media declares that Juche Korea is a spooky, dark place of horrors, so they triumphantly printed the accusations that there would be “mistreatment” in Juche Korea of the defectors by human rights

91 Paul Marshall, Lela Gilbert, and Nina Shea, *Persecuted: The Global Assault on Christians* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2013), pp 23, 310; Steven Borowiec, "In apparent reversal, Laos turns in North Korean defectors," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 30, 2013; Jung-yoon Choi, "Laos assailed for sending young defectors back to North Korea," *LA Times*, Jun 2, 2013; Jethro Mullen, "Outcry over young North Korean refugees handed back to regime by Laos," *CNN*, Jun 2, 2013; Justin McCurry, "UN 'extremely concerned' for repatriated North Korean defectors," *The Guardian*, Jun 3, 2013; Phil Robertson, "International community must help North Korean defectors," *HRW*, Jun 5, 2013; Luke Hunt, "More North Koreans Hiding in Laos," *The Diplomat*, Jun 11, 2013; Nina Porzucki, "Can you name the five remaining communist countries in the world?," *PRI*, Dec 10, 2013; World Bank Group, "The World Bank In Lao PDR," World Bank accessed Mar 3, 2018, page updated Sept 2017; WTO, "Lao People's Democratic Republic and the WTO," World Trade Organization, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

imperialist organizations like Human Rights Watch (who call them “refugees” even though they aren’t), the propagandist spokesperson for the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Rupert Colville, and Antonio Guterres who is currently UN Secretary General, claiming they receive “harsh punishments” once they are returned. These same media declared that the government of Juche Korea has tried to discourage those from Juche Korea “from attempting to escape” and have implemented stricter border controls, not admitting that two missionaries from the ROK were helping these defectors (it remains to be seen if they were coaxed into it or they made their own decisions) and they were lying about themselves, disguising themselves to “look like a student tour group.” Like always, the media spins lies about Juche Korea while the ROK embassies and consulates in China will not give asylum to such Koreans, with the Chinese also deporting defectors as well.



Laotian Deputy Prime Minister Somsavat Lengsavad (4th L) and other officials pose for [a photo in Juche Korea in August 2010](#)

In 2014, the ROK probably thought they had “turned” Laos to their side. After all, a bilateral meeting [was held in “Busan on December 11”](#)...to review fields of cooperation and discuss ways to further strengthen friendly relations” and during these talks, “both sides expressed their pleasure at

highly valued achievements of friendly relations, with continuing exchanges of high-ranking delegation visits” while both sides “also expressed their satisfaction that relations between the two countries have been continuing to promote and cover many sectors of cooperation over the past 19 years.” However, in June of the same year, the Laotian and Juche Korean governments signed “bilateral cooperation agreements in the fields of economics, trade, science and technology” and in October, an economic delegation from Juche Korea came to Laos!⁹²

The following year, relations between Juche Korea and Laos continued to be strong. In May, the Laotian “Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism...discussed the sharing of news and information with members of the Information Committee from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK),” with both sides discussing the “development of information exchange between the two countries when they met at the National Culture Hall in Vientiane.”⁹³ The meeting between them, as the report went, “enabled officials from Laos and the DPRK to share ideas, increase their understanding and bolster their cooperation. It also provided a platform for further consultation in the future” and the ministry welcomed “the DPRK's information committee at a time when the entire Party, army and people are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and preparing to celebrate the 40th Lao National Day.” They ended by saying it was “necessary to expand information sharing between Laos and the DPRK in order to provide accurate news on development issues.” In [November of the same year](#), the “Minister of the People’s Armed Forces Gen. Pak Yong Sik and a delegation of the Korean People’s Army [KPA] met with the Laos President Choummaly Sayasone and Lao Defense Minister Sengnouane Sayalat...[the] DPRK Ambassador to Laos Ri Sang Chun, [and] the deputy director of the Lao People’s Armed Forces [LPAF] General Political Bureau, the Lao People’s Armed Forces Vice Chief of the General Staff and other senior Lao

92 Virginie Grzelczyk, *North Korea's New Diplomacy: Challenging Political Isolation in the 21st Century* (New York: Springer, 2017), p 85; “[Laos, DPRK strengthen trade ties](#),” *Vietstock*, Jun 11, 2014.

93 Khonesavanh Latsaphao, “[Laos, DPRK exchange information](#),” *Vientiane Times*, May 5, 2015.

defense officials.” At the meeting, the LPAF and KPA “discussed the issues of boosting cooperation between the armies of the two countries” while President Sayasone recalled his visit to Juche Korea in 2011, remarked that “the army and people of the DPRK are achieving signal successes in the national defense, in the struggle to defend socialism and the building of a thriving nation thanks to the wise leadership of Kim Jong Un” and said that “the two countries are supporting each other in the regional and international arenas and closely cooperating in the struggle for defending socialism, he stressed that Laos would support the cause of the Workers’ Party of Korea, the government, service personnel and people of the DPRK for achieving the reunification of the country and building a thriving socialist nation.” He also, as KCNA noted, “welcomed the delegation’s visit which contributes to the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries especially in the field of national defense.”

Also in 2015, Laos increased its relations with the Chinese revisionists, deepening them in the realm of military cooperation, which “coincides with China's growing investment in infrastructure and economic influence.”⁹⁴ They also, as bourgeois media declared, are the “the latest move linking Vientiane, the capital of Laos, and Beijing” with the China’s “so-called belt-and-road infrastructure plan...link[ing] China and Laos by railway” and has become “key to Laos’ socio-economic development,” even as some analysts said that “budding relations may be too lopsided, with Laos using natural resources and mineral-rich land as collateral, working mostly in China’s favor” leading China to be “dwarfed by China’s influence.” While this is an anti-communist perspective, there could be some validity. The same year, the Lao News Agency declared that “market-driven reforms [in Laos] have helped spur strong growth, reducing poverty at significant rate, and enhance social conditions in the country in recent decades,” citing a new Asian Development Bank (ADB) study, saying that “inequality

94 Michelle FlorCruz, “China-Laos Military Relations Deepen As Chinese Increase Economic, Infrastructure Investments,” *International Business Times*, Jul 8, 2015; ["Growth cuts absolute poverty but raises inequality," Lao News Agency](#), May 19, 2015.

has increased, at both national level and within rural and urban areas” but also claiming that “the estimated incidence of absolute poverty has halved, from 46% to 23%.” [On /r/communism one user said](#) that “the implication here is that market reforms lead to a decrease in poverty, one of the main claims of defenders of capitalism” and added that “Marxists should be very careful of bourgeois economic categories” since the bourgeois categories “lack an understanding of value, [and] they often have no basis in reality and only sometimes can approach the material world...I sincerely doubt that this study is of much use to anyone beyond the academics who published it.” That’s all fine and good, but he seemed confused as “this post is also subtle as it picks Laos, one of the last "communist" governments left in the world...rather than focusing on the massive increase in global poverty as a result of capitalism's latest crisis” and went onto say that “capitalism can reduce poverty in specific historical and material conditions...but over the long term can only increase global poverty as rates of profits fall until the next major crisis kills a few more tens of millions of people.” This user was [/u/smokeuptheweed9](#) (he is a mod of [/r/LateStageCapitalism](#), [/r/communism](#), [/r/communism101](#), [/r/marxistleninist](#), and [/r/The_Comintern](#)), who removed me as a mod from [/r/communism](#) and [/r/communism101](#) because he didn’t like my “modding practices,” who declared that he had “no interest in discussing whether it is actually communist or not” or that “this is a very smart anti-communist post disguised as a communist post.” He was clearly so deluded as he didn’t realize this was an article in the Laos New Agency, the official news agency of Laos Government and the ruling Party of country, not recognizing the reality. Reading this article means you must discuss if the country is communist or not, but clearly his revisionist mindset he didn’t recognize this at all. This is what happens when people don’t read carefully something which is presented to them. The [other comments on /r/communism](#) were much better than this jerk. The same year, the U\$ announced an “aid package of \$15 million for the unexploded ordnance (UXO) sector in Laos” and [while it brought](#) a total of “about \$85 million the US has given to Laos for UXO cleanup since 1993” it is such a low figure, with the

UXO in the country “the result of one of the most intensive bombing campaigns in human history, when the United States dropped two million tons of bombs on Laos from 1964 to 1973” with one-third which didn’t “explode on impact, and have killed or injured twenty thousand people since 1973.” The writer went onto say that:

The United States has a moral responsibility to do everything it can to clean up the UXO and help the victims. The United States could easily provide the \$16 billion needed to clean up the UXO...Laos is a beautiful country with warm, friendly people that never did anything to the United States and never threatened the United States. Their only crimes were seeking independence through the communist, nationalist group the Pathet Lao...and to have had the misfortune to share a border with Vietnam, another country the United States sought to decimate...Probably the most heartbreaking component of the UXO Survivor Information Centre is the list of recent UXO victims. They include farmers, scrap metal collectors, and children...Children are especially vulnerable because they find cluster bomb and try to play with them, mistakenly believing the small, round bombs are toys. Cluster bombs are notably deadly weapons because dozens of them are dispersed over a wide area from a single canister...The United States terrorized Laos badly enough in the war, and they are still terrorizing Laos by not providing sufficient funds to clean up the UXO. This grotesque lack of concern for one’s own actions must end!

In 2016, the capitalist road in Laos continued. The World Bank described Laos as “a lower-middle income economy with a GNI per capita of \$2,150 in 2016” and declared it was “one of the fastest growing economies in the East Asia and Pacific region and globally. GDP growth averaged



9th Party Central Committee Secretary-General of Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) Choummaly Sayasone (front L) and newly elected Party Central Committee Secretary-General Bounnhang Vorachit (front R) attend a handover ceremony during the closing ceremony of the 10th National Congress of LPRP in Vientiane, capital of Laos, on Jan. 22, 2016, via [Xinhua](#).

7.8% over the last decade, with the use of the country's natural resources – mostly water, minerals and forests – contributing around one third of this growth.”⁹⁵

They also noted that Laos, as an

ASEAN members, increased “its integration into the regional and global economy, and served as the chair of ASEAN” that year. The same year, John Kerry visited Laos two times, and the U\$ signed a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement in February. Also in 2016, bilateral ties between Laos and Juche Korea were [enhanced](#). The same month the agreement was signed with the U\$, a [delegation](#) of the WPK visited Laos, which talked with a delegation from the LPRP, [exchanging](#) “successes and experiences gained in the struggle for carrying out the joint cause [of socialism] and discussed the issue

95 X World Bank Group, "The World Bank In Lao PDR," World Bank accessed Mar 3, 2018, page updated Sept 2017; U\$ State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018.

for further developing the relations between the two parties and other issues of common interest” while the President of Laos, Choummaly Sayasone, [said that](#) the “friendly and cooperative relations provided by the preceding leaders of the two countries will remain unchanged forever. adding Laos will always support the just cause of the Korean people. He expressed conviction that the cause of building a thriving socialist nation will be surely realized thanks to Kim Jong Un who is confidently carrying forward the cause of President Kim Il Sung and leader Kim Jong Il.” The same month, the WPK delegation [visited](#) the “Kaysone Phomvihane Museum and historic relic ThatLuang tower,” Bounnhang Vorachith, general secretary of the Central Committee of the LPRP [said that](#) “it is a fruition of the energetic leadership of Kim Jong Un that the WPK has made steady progress in bolstering up capabilities for self-defence and stepping up economic construction and the improvement of the people's living standard,” and, at the [end of the month](#), there were “photo and book exhibitions, film shows, receptions and other events took place in the DPRK missions...in celebration of the birth anniversary of leader Kim Jong Il (the Day of the Shining Star)” including one in Laos.

In the next month, March, the ties were clearly still strong. Bounnhang Vorachith, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), [sent a message](#) to Kim Jong Un, saying that his “congratulatory message greatly encourages me to steadily lead the revolutionary cause and surely attain the goals of socialism...I sincerely hope that the traditional friendly and cooperative relations between the two parties, states and peoples of Laos and the DPRK would steadily grow strong.” Later on in March, [a delegation](#) of the “Ministry of People's Security of the DPRK led by Minister Choe Pu Il left” left to visit Laos, and apart from “[meetings in celebration](#) of the birth anniversary of leader Kim Jong Il [which]...took place in Kyrgyzstan, Bulgaria and Laos from February 11 to 16,” the Laotian and Korean [security ministries](#) signed a security agreement which some “watchers” of Juche Korea thought was about repatriation of immigrants from Juche Korea.⁹⁶ The

96 Jiwon Song, "N.Korea, Lao security ministries sign security agreement," *NK News*, Mar 7, 2016.

reality was clear in an article in *Rodong Sinmun* [stating that](#) Vorachith said that Kim Jong Un was “invariably carrying forward the traditional relations of friendship between the two countries forged by the preceding leaders of the two countries” and that the “Lao people are rejoiced over the successes made by the Korean people in bolstering the national power and developing socio-economy...[saying that] he extended full support to the just cause of the Korean people on behalf of the Lao party and state and hoped that the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries would develop forever” with Kim Jong Un echoing this in a message to Sayasone, president of Laos, saying that “[I am pleased](#) that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and two countries provided by the preceding leaders are steadily growing stronger.” On March 20, [Laos held another round of elections](#). The enlarged National Assembly was 149 members, with the LPRP taking 144 of the seats, “while the five remaining seats went to independents” with nearly “73% of members were elected to the National Assembly for the first time.” During the campaign for the assembly, “many candidates focused on development, promising to serve the interests of the nation and the people” and Vice President Bounnhang Vorachit became the new the General Secretary, pledging to “oversee Laos' graduation from the list of least developed countries by 2020 and achieve the status of upper-middle income country by 2030 while progressing along the socialist path”. During this election, Mr. Vorachit was elected “as the new President,” and “Mr. Sisoulith was elected Prime Minister, replacing Mr. Thongsing Thammavong.”

In April 2016, the connections between the two countries were again clear. Kim Jong Un [received “a floral basket](#) from Bounnhang Vorachith, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, and Choummaly Sayasone, president of Laos, on the occasion of the Day of the Sun (birth anniversary of President Kim Il Sung).” Later that month, Kim Yong Nam, “sent a [congratulatory message](#) to Bounnang Vorachith upon his election as president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic at the 1st Session of the 8th National Assembly of Laos,” and expressed the belief

that “the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries provided by the preceding leaders would grow stronger.” Also that month, there were “[meetings, photo and book exhibitions and film shows](#)” in places such as “Cuba, Laos, Britain and Ecuador from April 7 to 11 on the occasion of the birth anniversary of President Kim Il Sung,” and further “receptions, book and photo exhibitions and film shows...[at the DPRK missions](#)” in a number of different countries, including Laos, for the same reason. At the end of the month, “foreign political parties, ministries, organizations, institutions and figures of various circles [sent floral baskets](#) to the DPRK missions in their countries between April 5 and 16 on the occasion of the birth anniversary of President Kim Il Sung (the Day of the Sun)” with some of them from the “Lao Ministry of Public Security, Lao Federation of Trade Unions, Military Area Command of Vientiane City of the Lao People's Army, Lao-Korea Friendship Association...deputy prime minister and concurrently foreign minister of Laos, Lao minister of Defense, chairwoman of the C.C., [and] the Lao Women's Union.”

In May and June 2016, the relations between the two countries were still strong. Kim Jong Un [was sent a message by Vorachith](#), saying that “I am firmly convinced that the fraternal Korean people would continue achieving fresher great successes in defending the country and building prosperous socialist Korea, guided by the Juche idea and Songun line, under the valiant leadership of the WPK headed by you...I hope that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, two countries and two peoples of Laos and the DPRK would continue developing.” The following month, a WPK delegation [left to visit](#) Vietnam and Laos, with [talks held in Laos](#) with numerous officials, with Choe Thae Bok of the WPK saying the LPRP were “working hard to protect the gains of the revolution and attain the goal of socialism...[and] underscored the need to further strengthen unity and solidarity between the two parties and the two peoples in the joint struggle for realizing the cause of socialism.” The same month, the WPK’s central committee “[hosted a reception](#) in honor of a delegation of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) on a visit to the DPRK on

Saturday” with Ri Su Yong, vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the DPRK, saying that “the DPRK will as ever advance shoulder to shoulder with the Lao people in accomplishing the common cause of socialism against imperialism, true to the behests of President Kim Il Sung and leader Kim Jong Il” while the Laotian counterpart, Sounthon Sayachak, “expressed thanks to the party, the government and people of the DPRK for their great support and encouragement to the Lao people's struggle for national salvation and socialist construction” and said that “the traditional friendly and cooperative relations between the two parties and countries provided by Kaysone Phomvihane and Kim Il Sung would continue to develop.” The same month, the Vice Defense Minister, Hwang In-Moo, of the ROK, went on a “global bid to court countries close to North Korea,” visiting countries friendly to Juche Korea, with a “trip to Southeast Asia follows recent high-profiled visits to Russia, Cuba, Uganda, and Iran- all allies of the North- but which reaped only mixed results for Seoul” with the Cambodians appearing to pay off with this, but ROK is, the bourgeois analyst grumbled, “unlikely to find much success in Laos.”⁹⁷

The following month, July, wasn't much different, Vorachith [sent Kim Jong Un a message](#), congratulating him on his “election as chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the DPRK” and he “expressed pleasure over the fact that the traditional good relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries have steadily developed to bring substantial benefits to the peoples of the two countries,” and Ko Hyon Chol, a [person who had defected to the ROK](#), was “arrested for committing an anti-DPRK hostile act on the instruction of the south Korean puppet Intelligence Service (IS),” noting that he “left Dandong together with strangers and arrived in Laos via Shenyang, Qingdao and Kunming of China, along the route planned by Ri Song Su. Then I was detained by the police in a northern border town of Thailand for illegal entry” admitting that they integrated themselves “into gangsters of the south Korean puppet Intelligence Service and conducted an anti-DPRK smear”

⁹⁷ Fanny Potkin, "South Korea Hopes To Win Cambodia & Laos Over In North Korea Containment Visit," *Forbes*, Jun 27, 2016.

campaign and was directly involved in the abduction of children, a hideous crime. And I make my heartfelt apology to the country and all its people and my home folks.” The same month, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting [was held “in the capital of Laos, Vientiane”](#) which was attended by “27 countries' representatives, including 10 ASEAN members, the EU states and North Korea” with the foreign minister of Juche Korea, [Ri Yong Ho](#), talking there, and presented “explanations on the country's nuclear program against the backdrop of the heightened tensions on the peninsula.” On the [sidelines of this summit](#), top envoys of China and Juche Korea “held talks...as tensions run high on the Korean peninsula,” and there was a ceremony for the “[31st batch of campers](#) took place at the Songdowon International Children's Camp on Tuesday” with schoolchildren from “the DPRK, Russia, Nigeria, Laos, Somalia, Vietnam and Tanzania and a camping group of schoolchildren of Koreans abroad.” On July 28, Ri Young Ho defended the actions of Juche Korea in regard to nuclear weapons. [He told the ministerial meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum](#) that:

I firmly believe that it might help the discussion of this meeting to inform the overall view and position of the DPRK government regarding the core substance of the situation of the Korean peninsula. The Respected Comrade Kim Jong Un, in the historic 7th Congress of the Worker's Party of Korea (WPK), last May, presented the five-year strategy for national economic development. The objective of this strategy is to lay the foundations of sustainable economic development by reenergizing the overall sectors of national economy and drastically improve the people's living standards. During the party congress, the Respected Comrade Kim Jong Un, Chairman of the WPK, presented also the Juche-oriented line of the reunification of the fatherland by proposing to realize the federal-style national reunification holding fast the banner of national independence. As the immediate task and means, were proposed easing of the state of military confrontation between the north and south and addressing all the issues through dialogue and negotiation. Accordingly, the DPRK embarked on the implementation of

the five-year strategy for national economic development and is making every effort to improve the north and south relations through dialogue and negotiation. All these efforts are in desperate need of peace and peaceful environment in the Korean peninsula as their crucial preconditions. But the situation turned out different. Military threats against the DPRK are increasing unprecedentedly. The strategic assets of the United States such as nuclear bombers and submarines, and the THAAD continue to be deployed in the Korean peninsula. The dark clouds to be formulated in the August are coming again, after the critical situation of last March and April created due to the large scale US-south Korea joint military exercises went through. Nobody can predict what kind of crisis the notorious Ulji Freedom Guardian joint military exercises can bring about this time. The attempt of the US to pursue hostile economic sanctions against the DPRK is another factor increasing tension. We know that pressure is being imposed upon all the foreign ministers present here for the implementation of the so called "sanctions resolutions" of the UN Security Council against the DPRK. We already looked forward to all the possible sanctions to come, before making an inevitable strategic decision that there is no other option but facing with nuclear deterrent the never ending nuclear blackmails of the US. We are ready to respond to whatsoever type of sanctions. However, I would like to underscore one thing about the legality and morality of the UN Security Council "sanctions resolutions", since foreign ministers of various countries are also present here. The UN Charter stipulates that the Security Council is to act only when there is "breach of the peace" or "existence of threat to the peace". There is neither Article in the UN Charter nor international law which stipulates that weapons tests including nuclear tests and satellite launches are regarded threats to international peace and security. Were there such an Article, would certainly the UN Security Council have taken action for every nuclear test of over 2,000 times and satellites launches conducted long before nuclear tests and satellites launches of the

DPRK were conducted. Were it the case, should the UN Security Council not have remained silent. The UN Security Council, however, defined in an arbitrary manner only the DPRK's nuclear tests and satellite launches as "threats to international peace and security" and adopted so called "resolutions" on banning them. Thereafter, the UN Security Council kept adopting "sanctions resolutions" on the ground that we violated them. The core substance of the UN Security Council "sanctions resolutions" against the DPRK lies in the act of abusing power in pursuit of one's own political purposes by overriding the UN Charter. In this regard, the DPRK has officially asked the UN Secretariat for a clarification over the question of the legality of the "sanctions resolutions" but until today the Secretariat is not yet responding to the request. The joint military exercises taken place in south Korea from last March through April were clearly an act of threats to international peace and security due to their aggressive and offensive nature with the aim of "decapitating" the leadership of a sovereign country and occupying its capital. Despite the repeated request of the DPRK government for an emergency meeting on the US-south Korea joint military exercises, the UN Security Council did not act and turned away from all the requests. If one is a dignified UN member state, it should pay due attention to the question of whether or not impartiality and morality are clearly reflected in the UN Security Council "sanctions resolutions" against the DPRK and should make its own objective judgment. If the United States were not hostile toward the DPRK, the Korean peninsula would not have turned into the global hot spot like today. At the 7th Congress of the WPK, the Respected Comrade Kim Jong Un called upon the United States to drop its anachronistic hostile policy toward the DPRK, to replace the Armistice Agreement with peace agreement and to withdraw all its aggression forces and warfare equipment from south Korea. Furthermore, he has clarified the stand of the DPRK government that we will improve and normalize relations with those countries who respect our country's sovereignty and are friendly

to us, even if they were hostile to us in the past. And yet, the United States is going in opposite direction. Recently the US went as far as to commit an act of greatest hostility by daring insult our supreme dignity under the pretext of non-existing "human rights issues". Such an act is an act of a declaration of war denying its coexistence with the DPRK, a sovereign country, and completely closing all the channels of dialogue with us. This is something that we expected and we are ready to both dialogue and confrontation. Three years ago, our Party advanced the line of simultaneously promoting economic construction and up-building of nuclear forces and it is thanks to this line that our nuclear deterrent has reached today the level of discharging its mission in good faith. If the situation of the Korean peninsula falls out of control in the coming August, it will be no other than the United States who should be fully responsible as the party for making a declaration of war by offending the supreme dignity of the DPRK, and also as the party who made shipment of nuclear strategic assets into the Korean peninsula. We are ready to show that even a power country will surely not be safe if it tries to torment and harm a small country. The United States will have to pay dearly a terrifying price. I do not feel any need of referring to the followers of the United States. The Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Kim Jong Un, said our real enemy is the nuclear war itself. The DPRK government will struggle vigorously to put an end by its root cause to the danger of nuclear war imposed by the United States, by our reliable and powerful nuclear deterrent and to safeguard peace in this region and the world.

In August and September 2016, the ties of Juche Korea and Laos were still as clear. With the delegation headed by Foreign Minister Ri Yong Ho [returning](#), and there was strong evident of “Laos' longstanding ties to North Korea” and it was claimed to be “one of the few places left where North Korea can send its labor to earn cash” even though the latter is laughable due to the fact that is



Coat of arms of Laos which looks a little like the one of Juche Korea

bourgeois
ridiculousness.⁹⁸ In
September Obama
became the “first U.S.
President to visit
Laos...when he and Lao
President Bounnhang
Vorachit announced a
Comprehensive
Partnership.” ROK
[claimed to get some](#)

[“concessions](#) from Laos

regarding its traditional friendship with North Korea,” with their Ministry of National Defence saying that Laos was reconfiguring “its relations with North Korea following the latter's nuclear and long-range missile tests,” although this cannot be fully proven. The same month there was an article noting that “dome 80 million unexploded bombs are scattered across the country” and that, at the time, “less than 1% of the bombs have been removed.” At the end of the month, a high-ranking youth delegation from Laos, "headed by Sonethanou Thammavong, secretary of the C.C., the Lao People's

98 Elise Hu, "Laos: A Remote Battleground For North And South Korea," *NPR*, Sept 7, 2016; US State Department, "U.S.-LAOS RELATIONS," Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dec 13, 2016, accessed Mar 3, 2018; Rebecca Wright, "My friends were afraid of me': What 80 million unexploded US bombs did to Laos," Sept 6, 2016.

Revolutionary Youth Union," [met Kim Jong Nam](#), and this delegation [visited](#) Kim Il Sung's birthplace, and then [departed](#).

In October, November, and December 2016, the connections between Laos and Juche Korea were still strong. Phonekham Inthaboualy, Lao ambassador to Juche Korea, “and his embassy officials [helped Korean farmers](#) at the Korea-Laos Friendship Sosin Co-op Farm” which is “situated in Ryokpho District, Pyongyang” with the guests, after being “briefed on the feats performed by him [Kim Il Sung] for the farm, they helped farmers with their rice harvest. They handed over aid materials to the farm.” The next month, November, Kim Jong Un [sent messages](#) to “foreign party and state leaders in his reply to their messages of greeting on the 71st anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK)” one of whom was the president of Laos. The same month, Sayakane Sisouvong, Laos’ Ambassador to the UK, spoke to the CPGB-ML, [talking about](#) the “the electrifying effect that the October Revolution and Soviet Socialism – the first durable workers’ republic – had on the colonised peoples of southeast Asia, including the people of Laos” and adding the following, even though he was still part of a revisionist country, saying that

Socialist ideology only became influential in our country after WW2. But since then, our country has moved rapidly from a feudal monarchy, through capitalism to socialism. In Laos, our people are in control of the state, so it is easy for us to understand and explain the significance of the October Revolution, the benefits of socialism to you...Building socialism takes a long time. It depends on the material conditions, the time and place you are operating in, and the maturity of the peoples in the countries concerned. Taking the example of Laos, communists led the national liberation struggle, but the price we have paid for our liberation had not been easy. The United States did not declare war openly on Laos. We are a small country. Although we have a land area similar to the UK, our population is just 3 million. But in their ‘secret’, undeclared war against our nation, the US dropped some 3 million tons of

bombs – one ton for every man, woman and child living in our country. Laos has a land area similar to that of the UK. One third of the area of our country remains seriously contaminated with unexploded ordinance. That was the respect for human rights that the USA showed our country. That was their independence gift to us. Today there remain more than 80,000,000 unexploded bomblets, unexploded pieces of ordinance (UXO), which act like land-mines, spread over one third the land area of our country, and every year hundreds of Laotian people continue to loose their lives and limbs due to these unexploded American bombs

The next month, December, there were “[memorial meetings, seminars, lectures](#), round-table talks, photo and book exhibitions and film shows took place at DPRK missions” in countries such as Laos, to “commemorate the 5th anniversary of demise of leader Kim Jong Il.”

Then we get to 2017. Laos was called a “long-standing partner” by a bourgeois academic while the World Bank declared that “economic growth remains vibrant in 2017, though slower compared to earlier years. An expansion in power generation, manufacturing, and agriculture is offset by a slight deceleration in investment and a drop in tourism. The growth in agriculture, where most Lao workers are engaged, and the recent expansion of labor intensive manufacturing, albeit from a low base, are expected to help in poverty reduction.”⁹⁹ In January, Kim Jong Un [received New Years cards](#) from the presidents of South Africa, Vietnam, Armenia, Syria, Mongolia, China, Russia, and Laos, along with one from the prime minister of Bangladesh. The following month, there were “events [such] as reception, seminar, round-table talks, book, photo and handicraft exhibition and film show[s]” which [took place at Juche Korean missions](#) in countries such as Laos, “between February 8 and 15 to celebrate the 75th birth anniversary of leader Kim Jong Il.” Later on that month, [floral baskets were sent to celebrate](#) Kim Jong Il’s birthday anniversary from the “Committee for External Affairs of the

⁹⁹ Virginie Grzelczyk, *North Korea’s New Diplomacy: Challenging Political Isolation in the 21st Century* (New York: Springer, 2017), p 206); World Bank Group, “The World Bank In Lao PDR,” World Bank accessed Mar 3, 2018, page updated Sept 2017.

Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Lao Ministry of Defence, the Laos-Korea Friendship Association, the Lao defence minister who is member of the Political Bureau of the LPRP Central Committee and members of the C.C., LPRP,” to name a few, with Kim Jong Un sending, as KCNA noted, a greeting card to the “general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.”¹⁰⁰



Flags of Laos and Juche Korea flying together in Vietanne, capital of Laos, via [some person on WordPress](#).

In later months of 2017, pleasantries between Laos and Juche Korea continued. In March, the “director of the Lao Defense Ministry [said that Kim Jong Il](#) is the great leader as he turned the DPRK into a socialist power possessed of invincible military capabilities with his unique Songun politics.” In April, meetings were held in “Cuba, Laos, Myanmar and South Africa on April 6-11 to celebrate the Day of the Sun, the birth anniversary of President

¹⁰⁰ The latter was noted in Elizabeth Shim, "North Korea lists Russia first among countries friendly with regime," *UPI*, Feb 3, 2017. Others who sent floral baskets were: “the State Academic Igor Moiseyev Dance Company and the Federation of Trade Unions in Maritime Territory of Russia, the president of the Socialist Party of Benin, the chairman of the Ecuadorian Committee for Remembering Generalissimo Kim Jong Il and the general manager of Golden Trip Travel Service Co. Ltd., of Hong Kong, the secretary general of the China Hong Kong Zhonghwa Energy Fund Commission...the co-chairman of the Council of the Kim Il Sung-Kim Jong Il Foundation...and the chairman of the Italian General Investment Group.”

Kim Il Sung,” [at one of those meetings](#), the “vice-chairman of the C.C., National Construction Front of Laos said that Kim Il Sung is a great leader who liberated Korea and built the first people's country in the East and a close friend who rendered material and moral assistance to the struggle of the Lao people,” the latter which has been talked about previously in this section. Later on that month, [floral baskets were sent](#) “on the occasion of the birth anniversary of President Kim Il Sung” with some of them from “the Laos-Korea Friendship Association, the Lao Federation of Trade Unions, the defense minister of Laos who is a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, and members of the C.C., LPRP,” and others from “the State Academic Igor Moiseyev Dance Company of Russia...the general secretary of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party...a Cambodian family...[and] co-chairman of the Council of the Kim Il Sung-Kim Jong Il Foundation.” Also that month, a “[friendly gathering was held at the Taedonggang Diplomatic Club](#)...under the co-sponsorship of the Korean Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the DPRK-Laos Friendship Association and the Lao embassy here to mark the 25th anniversary of President Kim Il Sung's meeting with Kaysone Phomvihane” with both expressing the “belief that the gathering would mark a good occasion in promoting the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries.”

Pleasantries continued in June and July as connections between the countries were still strong. In June, the Director General of Lao News Agency, Sounthone Khanthavong received the Ambassador of Juche Korea to Laos, “Ri Sang Gun in Vientiane Capital on July 6” where Sounthone “expressed gratitude to the DPRK for its cooperation between Lao News Agency and the DPRK” and in reply, “Ambassador Ri Sang Gun gave a briefing on the scientists and technicians of the DPRK Academy of Defence Science who successfully carried out the test-launch of the inter-continental ballistic rocket Hwasong-14” with the ambassador also saying that “the DPRK will celebrate the 25th anniversary of

the late President Kaysone Phomvihane's visit to the DPRK."¹⁰¹ At the end of the month, the US State Department released their Investment Climate Statement on Laos, calling it "a rapidly growing developing economy at the heart of Southeast Asia," with what they added showing the full extent of the revisionists themselves:

...Over the last thirty years, Laos has made slow but steady progress in implementing reforms and building the institutions necessary for a market economy, culminating in accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in February 2013. The Lao government's commitment to WTO accession and the creation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 prompted major reforms of economic policies and regulations aimed at improving the business and investment environment...The rapid economic growth over the last decade has been driven by the exploitation of natural resources and development of hydropower, with both sectors largely led by foreign investors...The Lao government hopes to...implement policies that will make Laos "land-linked" rather than landlocked, prioritizing easy access to larger, emerging neighbor economies...Some businesses and international investors are beginning to use Lao production bases as an opportunity to reach the broader Mekong region, including southern China..New Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in Vientiane and Savannakhet have attracted major manufacturers from Europe, North America, and Japan...Institutions, especially in the justice sector, remain highly underdeveloped and regulatory capacity is low...Investors, however, report that practice and implementation has not yet caught up with the spirit of new laws...The Lao government officially welcomes both domestic and foreign investment as it seeks to maintain high growth rates and graduate from Least Developed Country status...The 2009 Law on Investment Promotion introduced uniform business registration requirements and tax incentives which in most cases apply equally to

101 Khaosan Pathet Lao (KPL), "[KPL Director General Meets DPRK Ambassador](#)," Lao News Agency, Jun 7, 2017; "Laos," Investment Climate Statement, US State Department, Jun 29, 2017.

foreign and domestic investors...Foreigners may invest in any sector or business except in cases where the government deems the investment to be detrimental to national security, health or national traditions, or to have a negative impact on the natural environment...There are several possible vehicles for foreign investment. Foreign partners in a joint venture must contribute at least 30 percent of the company's registered capital...there is no question that foreign investment has increased dramatically over the last several years...Foreigners may invest in any sector or business except in cases where the government deems the investment to be detrimental to national security, health, or national traditions, or to have a negative impact on the natural environment. Even in cases where full foreign ownership is permitted, many foreign companies seek a local partner in order to navigate byzantine official and unofficial processes...Many investors and even locals will hire consultancies or law firms to shepherd the effort-intensive registration process...Laos has bilateral investment agreements with Australia, Burma, Cambodia, China, Cuba, Denmark, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mongolia, Netherlands, North Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Russia, South Korea, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and Vietnam...Foreigners may invest in any sector or business except in cases where the government deems the investment to be detrimental to national security, health, or national traditions, or to have a negative impact on the natural environment...Laos offers a range of investment incentives depending on the investment vehicle...Special Economic Zones are intended to support development of new infrastructure and commercial facilities and include incentives for investment...The banking system is dominated by large, government-owned banks...The Lao government maintains ownership stakes in key sectors of the economy such as telecommunications, energy, finance, airlines, and mining. Where state interests conflict with private ownership, the state is in a position of advantage...There is no formal SOE privatization program, though Prime Minister

Thongloun has openly discussed subjecting some SOEs to greater competition and possible privatization...Though nominally communist, the LPRP has increasingly embraced market principles, regional economic integration, and private investment.

Then in July, the foreign minister of Juche Korea, Ri Yong Ho, “departed Pyongyang...for the ASEAN Regional Forum slated for July 26 in Laos,” [leaving from Pyongyang Sunan International Airport](#) where he was greeted by “the Lao Ambassador to the DPRK, Phonekham Inthaboualy, and Chinese Ambassador Li Jinjun.”

In August and September 2017, the relations were still clearly strong. For one, in August the foreign ministry of Juche Korea said that it has “briefed diplomats of Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia in Pyongyang earlier in the week about the "resounding success" of its latest ICBM test” while other articles noted that defecting individuals from Juche Korea “enter Thailand at its northernmost tip, near the Golden Triangle, from neighboring Laos” with one official, Captain Chonlathai Rattanaurang, a commander of the Mekong River Navy patrol, quoted as saying “We have seen many North Koreans entering the country in several northeastern provinces along the Mekong River in the last few years.” with another saying that “groups of North Koreans have been entering Thailand through northeastern provinces bordering Laos including Nong Khai and Nakhon Phanom, where the Mekong forms the international frontier.”¹⁰² Later on that month, a delegation of the Laos-Korea Friendship Association was at the “[5th International Festival in Praise of the Great Persons](#)” along with delegations from many other countries. The following month, on September 12, the Lao President and General Secretary of "C.C., Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) [sent a message of "warm congratulations and best wishes](#) to the C.C., WPK, the DPRK government and all the Korean people on behalf of the C.C., LPRP and government and people of Laos and on his own behalf on the 69th founding anniversary of the DPRK...[expressing] the DPRK will overcome all hardships and

102 Panu Wongcha-um, "Surge in North Koreans slipping into Thailand: immigration," *Reuters*, Aug 1, 2017; “UN Security Council adopts new North Korea sanctions,” *Al Jazeera*, Aug 5, 2017.

ordeals under the guidance of Kim Jong Un and contribute to protecting and promoting the regional and global peace and stability. It hoped that the traditional friendship and unity between the two parties, two states and two peoples will grow strong.” Such pleasantries show the strength of the relationship.



Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Un meet with the Laos President in September 2011, via Yonhap News.

The final months of 2017 showed the strength of the relationship between the two countries. In October, “[ruling parties of Vietnam, Laos, Cuba and the...DPRK](#)...sent their congratulations to the Communist Party of China (CPC) on the 19th CPC National Congress” with the central committee of the LPRP noting that “since its birth in 1921, the CPC has shown firm leadership, pioneered in innovation, and gone through important turning points in China's history.” The following month, the Lao ambassador, Phonekham Inthaboualy and “his embassy staff members in Pyongyang visited the DPRK-Laos Friendship Sosin Vegetable Cooperative Farm in Ryokpho District, Pyongyang,” and they

looked around “rooms dedicated to the education with revolutionary relics and the farm’s history and other places while being briefed on the undying exploits of President Kim Il Sung.”¹⁰³ After this visit, the Lao ambassador said that he “hoped that the farm which is associated with the President’s field guidance would make greater success in agricultural production.” The following month, Kim Jong Un [sent a message to “Bounnhang Vorachith](#), general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party and president of the Lao People’s Democratic Republic” and expressed “warm congratulations and comradely greetings to the president and, through him, to the friendly party, government and people of Laos on the occasion of the 42nd birthday of LPDR” saying that “the Lao government and people have achieved great successes in the work to defend the socialist ideology, consolidate the people’s democratic system and improve the people’s living standard under the correct leadership of the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party.” Kim also expressed the “belief that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and the two countries provided by the preceding leaders would steadily develop thanks to the common concern and efforts.” Around then, a senior Lao diplomat, Deputy Minister Ernthavanh, said that “Laos sees this [missile tests by Juche Korea] as a concerning matter. We hope North Korea abandons its nuclear and missile development and that the Korean Peninsula will be denuclearized through talks as soon as possible. If the situation becomes more serious, it could inflict huge damage not just on the Korean people but also those in the ASEAN region. I personally hope that things will be resolved peacefully through talks.”¹⁰⁴ Still, even with this statement, the relationship between Laos and Juche Korea is strong, its just that Laos is starting to move toward the position on the missile tests by Juche Korea which is expressed by the revisionists in Vietnam and Laos.

103 KCNA, “[Lao embassy staff visit vegetable farm](#),” *Pyongyang Times*, Nov 17, 2017.

104 “Laos Expresses Concern Over North Korea Nuclear Program,” *The Laotian Times* (reprinting from the *Korea Herald*), Dec 6, 2017.

Then we get to 2018. The IMF [declared that](#) the country's economy was performing well, "supported by a favorable external environment and strong flows of foreign direct investment from its dynamic neighbors" and that "authorities have developed a reform agenda to address some of the vulnerabilities in the economy...they are also moving to strengthen the banking system by recapitalizing and restructuring public banks." If the IMF is happy, you really have to worry. Around the same time, *BBC News* declared that most "Laotians live in rural areas, with around 80% working in agriculture mostly growing rice" and that the Laotian state "has made no secret of its huge hydropower ambitions and its desire to become the "battery" of Southeast Asia" with the government anticipating that "by 2025 hydropower will become the country's biggest source of revenue" even as "Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia have raised concerns about the environmental impact" of such dams.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, China and Laos [seem](#) to be moving closer together which may be good for the revisionists but not sure it really benefits the Laotians, as some have [expressed concern](#).

In the days and years to come, despite the fact that the Laotians are strongly revisionist and on the capitalist road, the relationship between Juche Korea and Laos will remain strong.

105 "Laos country profile," *BBC News*, Jan 9, 2018; Wayne Hay, "Concerns over Laos dam's environmental impact," *Al Jazeera*, Feb 20, 2018. For more information on Laos, see the [country study on Laos](#), a report cited and used by Douglas S. Blaufarb titled "[Organizing and Managing Unconventional War in Laos, 1962-1970](#)." Also see multiple doc on [Air America](#), [Vietnam](#), [here](#), a 598 page pdf titled "[Undercover armies: CIA and Surrogate Warfare in Laos](#)" compiled by the Center for the Study of Intelligence which is an organ of the CIA and [Cash and violence in Laos and Vietnam](#), a book by Anna Louise Strong in 1962.